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LETTERS
ON
ANGLICAN ORDERS
AND
OTHER MATTERS.

BY
THE REV. CANON JOHN WILLIAMS.

LONDON:
T. JONES, 13 PATERNOSTER ROW.
BRISTOL: AUSTIN AND OATES, 9 PARK STREET.
1859.

110. a. 157.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.



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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE following Letters, relating principally to Anglican Orders, appeared in the *Weekly Register*. In compliance with the oft-renewed request of many persons, entitled by their position and theological knowledge to the writer's respectful acquiescence, he has been induced to present them thus to the public in a collected form: not, however, exactly as they first appeared, for much new matter has been embodied; some corrections have been made; entire documents have been introduced; and translations of Latin extracts have been added. It will be observed, that the first Letter is more especially addressed to that section of Anglicans whose principles

are represented by the *Union* newspaper. The remainder of the book is of general interest ; of vital interest, indeed, to all high churchmen, and believers in the necessity of apostolical succession.

It has been a question with the writer, in thus reproducing this important subject, whether the matter should be remodelled altogether, and assume the less discursive and less desultory form of a regular treatise. After due deliberation, the form of letters has been retained, for several reasons. First, the alterations necessary for a more exclusive and methodical dissertation would really necessitate the production of an entirely new work. Secondly, the Letters, though principally, are not exclusively devoted to the subject of Anglican Orders. The events passing in the religious world at the date of each Letter are occasionally discussed ; such as the confessional and the Boyne-hill affair ; the revisal of the Liturgy ; the inconsistencies of the Anglican system ; the sayings and doings

of the Bishop of Oxford, etc., etc. All this would be excluded in a formal disquisition on Anglican Orders. And thirdly, the writer must candidly avow that the form of Letters once addressed to a newspaper, affords a better apology for the shortcomings and imperfections which, no doubt, the book contains.

He scarcely expects that the style will please all parties. It is occasionally facetious; it is also sometimes impulsive, and perhaps strongly vehement in appeals to his Anglican brethren. In the former case, the critic should consider the diversity of tastes to be consulted in the readers of a newspaper. The Horatian dictum, that we may sometimes laughingly tell the truth, is, I think, peculiarly applicable in addressing such a variety of readers. To many, the most important part of the subject, viz., documentary matter, appears dry and insipid: while a little sprinkling of salt will invite them to partake of the food prepared, and to finish the repast. Of course, if the salt be *Attic*, so much the better;

though the writer fears he has little of that stock on hand. Then as to a certain urgency to Anglicans to be convinced, and to act on their convictions, let the censor take into account the idiosyncrasies of a writer, and philosophically make allowance for what is not quite suited to his own taste. The present writer is in earnest himself, and wishes others to be in earnest too. The statesman's advice—" *mais surtout, Monsieur, point de zèle*"—is not altogether suited to his temperament. His conviction is, that those two important questions of fact—the imposture of Parker's alleged consecration, and the pseudo-episcopacy of Barlow, are satisfactorily established in the following pages,—could he then do otherwise than press that conviction earnestly upon those to whom that question is of so momentous a consequence? It appears to him that an absolute and total resistance to the facts and arguments contained in these letters would be a veritable phenomenon; and the Anglican intellect that would not admit doubt or mis-

giving on *any* point therein controverted,—not even on the question of fraud, such, for instance, as is demonstrated in Letter XVII,—would certainly be an interesting subject for the student in psychology. However, let the effect produced be what it may, the writer can sincerely say that his motive has been, not a love of controversy, but the love of truth ; for the glory of God, and the good of his neighbour.

ANGLICAN ORDERS.

LETTER I.

A SERIOUS QUESTION FOR THE "UNION" CLERGY.

Sir,—As the *Weekly Register* is, I presume, read by many of the clerical supporters of the *Union*, permit me to use it as a medium through which to address to them a very serious question ; at least to those who contend for the necessity of Apostolical Succession and valid ordination ; who hold Catholic doctrine on the Holy Eucharist ; or, at all events, doctrine which makes it a truly awful and celestial mystery ; and who respect the decisions of Rome. To such, and to such only, I at present address myself.

Gentlemen, I premise that the denial of the validity of your ordinations must evidently become the crushing impediment to such a union as you contemplate, and in the sense in which you mean it. Your Orders, Episcopal and Presbyteral, are absolutely null. I waive all question about the Nag's Head story,—a fable if you like : I waive, for the moment, those tenable points—Barlow's non-consecration, and the spuriousness of the Lambeth Register. Your rite of ordination has all along been vitiated—emasculated, if I may use the term—by fatal defects as to matter, form, and intention. As to Episco-

pal consecration, on which all depends, from Archbishop Parker down to 1662, what was the form of consecration but the unspecific sentence—"Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands." The very name and designation of the Episcopal office are omitted, and all words, significant of sacerdotal power, excluded. Why, according to this, the Samaritans were all made bishops. When Peter and John were sent to confirm them, "they laid their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost." In 1662, however, in consequence, it would seem, of the work of "Erastus Senior", Convocation added to the previous form words indicative of the office of a bishop; still, however, leaving the form utterly empty and unsacramental. Thus the Establishment itself betrayed its doubts, and by the fact, committed a suicidal act; for supposing even that the new form would be valid, *in debitis circumstantiis*, what became of this so-called Church in the previous interval of a century? That was, indeed, a fatal chasm. By their own confession, the links of the apostolical chain *might* have been broken; so that the Establishment is self-condemned as to undoubted Apostolical succession. And we must never forget, in this controversy, that although even the present amended formula be fatally defective as to matter and form; yet it is not on that but on the original formula that the whole question of the validity of the present Anglican ordinations continues to rest.

But what says the Catholic Church of the same Orders? Away, my friends, with that "flattering unction" that with her it is a debateable point. It is no such thing. Le Courayer took up your cause, and his book became a

scandal to the whole church ; while his subsequent conduct—for he became an apostate—was a fitting commentary upon his dissertation. No, no. The Catholic Church ignores your Orders, and proclaims their nullity. But she does more than speak,—she acts. She, who declares the iteration of a sacrament conferring a character, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, to be a grievous sacrilege, and in the case of Baptism annexes irregularity to the sin,—she, I say, nevertheless, *unconditionally, universally, semper et ubique*, ordains, and previously confirms the converted Anglican clergyman, who is a candidate for her priesthood : the married convert she considers lawfully wedded, though once a minister ; and she never dreams of enforcing upon such her laws regarding priests ; such as celibacy, reciting the divine office, etc. ; and this simply because she regards them as laymen. What more do you require ? That Rome herself should speak ? Well, Rome herself *has* spoken. There was the case of Dr. Gordon, the Anglican bishop of Galloway. He went to Rome, and was there converted. He submitted the subject of his episcopal consecration (after the amended form of 1662) to the Holy See. Pope Clement XI. referred the matter to the congregation of the Holy Office. The whole matter was sifted to the bottom. Anglican Orders were examined historically, canonically, and theologically, and the following was the decision, viz., a decree of the Pope himself, dated 17th April, 1704 :—

“In Congregatione generali S.R. et universalis Inquisitionis, habita in Palatio Apostolico apud S. Petrum coram Sanctissimo D.N.D. Clemente Divinâ Providentiâ Papa XI, ac Eminentissimis et Reverendissimis Dominis

S.R. Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus . . . a S. Sede Apostolicâ deputatis . . .

“Lecto supradicto Memoriali, Smus. D. noster Papa prædictus, auditis votis eorundem eminentissimorum, decrevit quod prædictus Joannes Clemens Gordon Orator ex integro ad omnes Ordines, etiam Sacros et Presbyteratûs promoveatur, et quatenus non fuerit Sacramento Confirmationis munitus, confirmetur.”

“In the general Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, held in the Apostolical Palace at St. Peter’s, in the presence of our Most Holy Lord Clement XI, by Divine Providence Pope; and the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church . . . deputed by the Holy Apostolic See . . .

“The aforesaid Memorial having been read, our Most Holy Lord, the aforesaid Pope, having heard the sentiments of the same eminent personages, decreed that the aforesaid petitioner, John Clement Gordon, be promoted from the commencement to all, even the Holy Orders and the priesthood; and that, as he has not been fortified by the sacrament of Confirmation, he be confirmed.”

I know that it has been lately said that Dr. Gordon, in his petition to the Holy See, based his opinion of the invalidity of Anglican Orders, wholly on the Nag’s Head story. But whoever states that this was his exclusive ground, either has not seen the document, or has most disingenuously suppressed the truth. Here are some extracts:—

“Ut enim validæ dici possent, non dubiè duntaxat, verum *certò* constare oporteret, apud prætenso Episcopos Anglos residere verum Episcopatûs characterem; legiti-

mam, illos accepisse ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ per successionem, aliquam ordinationem, consecrationemque; et denique ab illis pseudo-Episcopis adhibitam esse, ac etiamnum adhiberi *essentialem in eorum consecrationibus formam, materiam, intentionemque*. Etenim, si quid ex tribus hisce, nimirum caractere, legitimâ consecratione, formâque aut intentione desit, consecrationem dici nullam et invalidam cum Theologis omnibus fateri necesse est.

.... "At non est assentiendum quod ministerium a Catholicis habuerint, cum nullam successivæ Ordinationis rationem offerat. Hâc autem sublatâ, nulla alia consecrationis apud hæreticos istos extant vestigia, *præter ministerium a populo, vel Principe laico acceptum*.

"Adde, quod licet per successionem legitimam, aliquam hæreticus quispiam Ordinationem Consecrationemque Episcopalem accepisset (quod tamen nullo argumento probatur), etiamnum eorum Ordinationes *invalidæ dicendæ essent ob defectum materiæ, formæ, et intentionis debitæ*. Nullâ enim materiâ utuntur nisi forte traditione Biblicorum; nullâ formâ legitimâ: imo formam Catholicorum abjecere et commutavere in hanc; 'accipe potestatem prædicandi verbum Dei et administrandi sancta ejus Sacramenta'—quæ essentialiter differt a formis orthodoxis. Deinde, quæ intentio ab illis formari poterit, qui negant Christum aut primam Ecclesiam ullum incruentum instituisse Sacrificium? Sublato autem Sacrificio, tollitur Sacerdos: sublato Sacerdote, tollitur Episcopus; sublato alterutro, tollitur, ut ait S. Hieron; Ecclesia, Fides, et Evangelium.

"Denique, constans semper in Angliâ fuit praxis, ut si quis hæreticorum Ministrorum ad gremium revertatur Ecclesiæ, *sæcularis* instar habeatur. Unde si ligatus sit

matrimonio, in eodem permaneat ; sin liber et ad statum Ecclesiasticum transire velit, aliorum Catholicorum more ordinetur ; vel si libuerit, uxorem ducat. Ergo," etc.

"That they (the ordinations) should be pronounced valid, it would be necessary to show, not on doubtful but on certain evidence, that the true character of the Episcopate is possessed by these pretended Anglican Bishops ; that they have received, by succession from the Catholic Church, a legitimate ordination and consecration ; and that in fine, the *essential form, matter, and intention* has been and is now adopted by these pseudo-bishops in their consecrations. For, if any one of these three things be wanting, to wit, character, legitimate consecration, form, or intention, it must be admitted with all theologians that the consecration is null and void.

.... "But it cannot be granted that they have received the ministry from Catholics, since no evidence is produced of successive ordination. Without this, there remains no other vestige of consecration with these heretics, besides a ministry derived from the people or a lay prince.

"Moreover, supposing even that some one of them had received, by means of legitimate succession, the episcopal ordination and consecration (which, however, is by no means proved), still their ordinations must now be pronounced invalid *through the defect of matter, form, and due intention*. For they use no matter, except the delivery of the Bible ; no legitimate form ; they have rejected the Catholic form, and changed it into this,—‘Receive the power of preaching the word of God and of administering holy sacraments’,—which essentially differs from the orthodox forms. Besides, what intention

can be formed by those who deny that Christ or the primitive church instituted any unbloody sacrifice? Without a sacrifice there is no priest; without a priest there is no bishop; without either there is, as St. Jerome says, no church, faith or gospel.

"In fine, the constant practice in England has always been, to treat every heretical minister returning to the bosom of the church, as a secular person. Hence, if he be engaged in matrimony, he continues in the same; if he be free, and wish to enter the ecclesiastical state, he is ordained like other Catholics; or, if he prefer it, he may marry a wife. Therefore," etc.

To this petition, founded on these theological reasons, the above decree, after mature and thorough examination, such as only Rome conducts, was the answer.

Dr. Gordon received the tonsure from the hands of the Pope himself, who gave him the name of the Abate Clemente. He afterwards received the minor Orders from Mgr. Casoni, and though he resided many years at Rome, he from humility ascended no higher. Thus the pseudo-Bishop of Galloway became a real acolyte!

Well, then, my Anglican friends, however you may reason and argue in defence of your ordination, your arguments cannot elude or nullify a fact:—that fact being, that the Catholic Church, whose decisions I am supposing that you respect, utterly ignores, theoretically and practically, your claims to the priesthood, and consequently un-churches your Establishment; for she says with St. Jerome,—"*Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes*" (that is not a church which hath no priests).

What effect, then, does this fact produce on the minds of those whom I address? I will be moderate in my

expectations, and say, that it should at least make you *doubt* your Orders. Her decision ought at least to balance your opinion. Yes, you **MUST** have misgivings; you *must* doubt; you *ought* to doubt; under the weight and pressure of that great authority, which you profess to respect.

And now comes the very serious question of which I spoke. You believe the Holy Eucharist, from the real presence of the Immaculate Lamb, to be a mystery of celestial sublimity; you believe that this wonderful sacrament can be consecrated by none other than a validly ordained priest; you respect that church which unhesitatingly denies your priestly character: with these principles,—*how dare you consecrate?* how dare you attempt it? How dare you intrude into the sanctuary, knowing that *if* you be not priests, it is a most awful mockery of the tremendous majesty of God Incarnate? You, doubtless, remember the case of Nadab and Abiu? (Lev. x. 1.) “They offered before the Lord strange fire; which was not commanded them. And, fire coming out from the Lord, destroyed them.” We are now happily under the law of love, and not of fear: but really what was their case compared with ours? What the figures, compared with the reality? What the tabernacle, compared with this true “tabernacle of God with men”—the Sanctuary of the Divine Eucharist? What, even, was that solemn act of the High Priest entering, once a year, into the Holy of Holies, compared with that act of a priest of Christ, which he commences with—“Introibo ad altare Dei?” Who will dare to enter unbidden, uncommissioned? You know that were the Archangel Michael himself to appear at our altars, arrayed in a stole of cele-

tial glory, and a chasuble of heaven's light, he could not consecrate the Eucharist! simply because he is not ordained; he is not commissioned. And will you rush in where angels fear to tread?—attempt, like the fabled Prometheus, to steal fire from heaven, and not fear the vulture of remorse—

“Immortale jecur tundens, fœcundaque pœnis
Viscera.”

Were you to hear of an impostor deceiving one of our bishops, and obtaining permission, though not a priest, to celebrate Mass at our altars, you would be horrified, I dare say, at the thought as much as ourselves. I think it is only want of serious reflection that prevents you from turning that feeling into another channel.

And now, my friends, I have spoken with stern frankness, from an earnestness of desire of your welfare. Come to us, if you wish for “union.” Come to us, and you will find that peace which so many, once like yourselves, have found. Come to us, and you will find the **REAL PRESENCE**. As for the union of *Church* with *Church*, such as you have planned, it is “the baseless fabric of a vision,”—a veritable dissolving view. When the two come together, your Establishment will melt from the sight, and St. Peter's will occupy the whole field of view. And oh! may the day of real union come! a day of joy for angels and men; when the nation, not as a church, but as a multitude of lost sheep, found at length by the loving Shepherd, shall re-enter the one fold! Can we hope that day will arrive?—“Judicia tua, abyssus multa, Domine” (Thy judgments, O Lord, are a deep abyss). Pa. 35. If so happy a consummation should ever be brought about, it would be

seen that the hierarchy, as now established, is the true organ of Christ's church in this country ; that Canterbury and Winchester Cathedrals are but sacred edifices in the diocese of Southwark ; and that York Minster is but an ecclesiastical fabric in the diocese of Beverley. Very probably, in the happy event of the nation's conversion, the Holy See would, for the sake of the old cathedrals, readjust the dioceses ; but if not, the present arrangement would stand good, for such is the constitution of God's church in this land.

And now let me say, that the writer is not a "fiery convert," but one who from his birth has been, happily, a Catholic ; and for the last thirty-five years an unworthy priest of Christ's church.

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court, St. Bonaventure, 1857.

LETTER II.

WAS BARLOW A BISHOP?

SIR,—In the letter respecting Anglican Orders which appeared in the *Weekly Register* of July 25 of the past year, I addressed, in its latter part, a very serious and special question to those Anglican clergymen who sincerely held the principles with which the *Union* started. I would refer them again to that question, for sure I am that under its probing action their consciences must be ill at ease.

I also stated that I waived, for the moment, the tenable points of Barlow's non-consecration and the spuriousness of the Lambeth register. The rejection by the Catholic Church of Anglican Orders is quite independent of those two points, and rests with abundant solidity on the defect of matter, form, and intention. However, as our Anglican friends, and indeed all High Churchmen, must consider those two points as of vital importance; as Catholics also would regard the disproof of those Orders on all three grounds as a *funis triplex*—a threefold cord which ought indeed to drag by main force even a very Leviathan of Anglicanism, however "high and dry," into his proper element—the river of Catholic life and truth,—I propose to send you to-day some observations about Barlow, and in my next something about Parker's Register.

You have done good service by publishing the letters of "An Anglican Convert" on this subject. One thing, however, in those letters I demur to:—his admission that "it is possible—nay, very probable—that other documents may exist which may show Barlow to have been consecrated." This, surely, he did not mean to admit, for all his previous facts and reasonings went to show the contrary. It is self-evident that if, as he says himself, it is "in the highest degree probable, if not certain," that Barlow was never consecrated, it is in the highest degree probable, if not certain, that no record of the same exists. Indeed, it may be assumed as *quite certain* that no document of the kind is in existence. The keenest researches were made at different periods during a whole century by persons who had access to all archives in cathedrals and universities, and who were ardently interested in its discovery—by Mason, by Bramhall, by Burnet, by Wharton, and others—but without success. Mason, particularly, was charged by Archbishop Abbot with the task; but though three editions of his book were published—in 1613, 1625, and 1638—with progressive additions, yet this much-desired document was not forthcoming. I will observe, too, in passing, that there is a markedly stronger presumption of non-consecration as to Barlow, arising from this non-appearance of a record, as compared with the omission of some other consecrations, from this very fact, that strict search was made for *his*, and not for theirs, as there was no necessity; and also from this fact, that there exist all *accessory* documents respecting his episcopal appointments, even two confirmations to two sees, St. Asaph and St. David's; but the registers most remarkably stop short as to the principal—his consecration.

Before proceeding, let us attend to dates. He was elected by the Chapter of St. Asaph, January 16, 1536 (present style). Godwin says he was consecrated February 22. But this is evidently a double blunder, for he was only confirmed on the 23rd, and the Royal Mandate is dated the 22nd. Here the "Anglican Convert," I think, makes a mistake, for he says the Mandate for consecration is dated February 2nd; but I have Rymer now before me (tom. xiv, p. 559), and it distinctly states, "vicesimo secundo die Februarii;" and it is more likely that if the confirmation was on the 23rd, the royal assent would be issued on the preceding day. As to Godwin, his learned editor and continuator, Dr. Richardson, in a note, himself acknowledges the error, and says, "Dies verò quo consecratus nondum apparet." (The day on which he was consecrated is not yet ascertained.) (Richardson's Godwin, p. 642.) Richard Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, died February 18th. Barlow was at once translated to that see, being elected April 10th; and confirmed April 21st. I have used the ordinary term "translated"; though "transmuted" is the literal rendering of the word used in the appointment of his successor at St. Asaph:—"per liberam transmutationem Willielmi Barlowe ultimi Episcopi ibidem Electi." (Rymer, xiv, p. 570.)—by the free transmutation of William Barlowe the last Bishop elect of the said see. This expression is quite unusual, and even unprecedented; and indicates that the exchange was made by an unconsecrated bishop. In the summons to Parliament, dated April 27th (Rymer, xiv, p. 563), we find, "Custodi Spiritualitatis Episcopatus Assaven. ipsa sede vacante—to the Guardian of the Spiritualities of the Bishopric of St. Asaph, the see being vacant."

Now, where was Barlow all this time? In Scotland, on a confidential embassy to James V. He could not possibly be consecrated under the circumstances; for he was only "elect" when he took his departure, probably about the beginning of February; and there is evidence to show that his embassy did not terminate till after July 26; for Drummond, in the *History of the Five Kings James of Scotland* (p. 309), speaking of the king's departure, July 26, 1536, says, "amidst the importunities and solicitations of these ambassadors (Barlow, and Lord William Howard) the King of Scotland set sail for France, with five men of war, well armed and equipped." And by comparing the accounts of Lord Herbert (*Hist. of Hen. VII*, p. 395) and Buchanan (*Rer. Scot. Hist.* lib. xiv, pp. 148, 149) we shall find that he went to Scotland Bishop elect of St. Asaph, and returned, acknowledged and styled absolutely Bishop of St. David's; but, also, returned necessarily unconsecrated.

In the documents of Wharton, his successor at St. Asaph, Barlow is repeatedly stated to have been "Bishop Elect"; but, strange to say, in his own documents of introduction to St. David's is described as having been full Bishop of St. Asaph. Thus, he enters St. David's with all the honours and style of a real bishop. The people would know nothing of the defect. There were no newspapers and telegraphs in those days.

To me it is clear that it was *here*, at this stage, that this precious man overleaped the wall, and finally evaded the (to him) abhorred rite of Episcopal Uncction and Consecration. His mission to Scotland was most convenient for the purpose of this evasion, and for having the temporalities made over to him to defray his expenses:

just as Henry had surrendered to a better man, Bonner, before consecration, the temporalities of Hereford and London, during a similar embassy on the Continent. It was all, doubtless, arranged between him and Cranmer; for they were allies in principle—*par nobile fratrum*.

As to his being consecrated on his translation to Bath and Wells, that was quite out of the question. It would never do, after such a lapse of time, to show the world that he was no bishop; for all the world had not his principles. Besides, this took place in Edward VI.'s reign, when the principles of Erastianism were rampant, when Cranmer was the uncontrolled master of the situation and showed his real character, and when the abolition of even the *congé d'élire* revealed the spirit that presided. A pretty founder of Anglicanism, that said Cranmer!

What took place a few months after Barlow's possession of St. David's? He was denounced for his contempt of Orders, and his outrageously anti-hierarchical and Erastian principles. On the 11th January, 1536-7, a list of articles was exhibited by Roger Lewis, LL.B., against him to the President of the King's Council in the Marches of Wales, from which I select the two following:—

“*Imprimis*, He affirmed and said, that wheresoever two or three simple persons, as two cobblers or weavers, were in company, and *elected* in the name of God, that there was the true Church of God.”

“*Item*, that if the King's Grace, being Supreme Head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate, and elect any *layman* to be a Bishop; that he, so chosen, should be as good a Bishop as he is, or the best in

England." (*Bib. Cot. Cleop. E. 5*, fol. 383.—Collier, vol. ii, p. 135.)

Notwithstanding this denunciation, Henry did not molest him ; and Barlow continued to profess with impunity the most subversive principles in regard to Orders and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is quite evident from the solemn decisions which Cranmer and he propounded at the notable Conference at Windsor, anno 1547. Barlow, for instance, at that Conference maintained that the Apostles themselves had no authority to ordain bishops without the consent of the prince ! He said that "because they lacked a Christian prince, by that necessity they ordained other bishops"! Cranmer's opinion was substantially the same.

To the question—"can a bishop make a priest?" Cranmer answers : "a bishop may make a priest, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them." Barlow answers : "Bishops have no authority to make priests without they be authorized of the Christian princes ; and that laymen have otherwhiles made priests."

To the twelfth question—"Whether in the New Testament be required any *consecration* of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?" Cranmer answers : "in the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest *needeth no consecration* by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient." The Bishop of St. David's (Barlow) answers : "THAT ONLY THE APPOINTING IS SUFFICIENT." (See Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, and Collier, vol. ii, Appendix, num. 49.

Here, then, we have a propagandist commentary on Barlow's practice—a sort of Erastian eclogue, or pastoral duet between these

“Arcades ambo,
Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.”

And who was this Barlow? A canon regular of St. Augustine, and Prior of Bisham; a religious, consequently, who had taken a solemn vow of chastity; but now an apostate from his religion, and a wedded man, having a family of five daughters and one son. Don't you think such a man would loathe the sacred unction of hands and head, and the other ceremonies of the episcopal consecration? It was the corrupt instinct of such men to use very vile language when speaking of holy chrism. Fulke, for instance, exclaimed, “We spit upon your greasy orders.” As the Devil hates holy water, so a married religious hates the contact of holy chrism. By way of parenthesis, I may here note the remarkable destiny of his offspring. His five daughters married five Protestant bishops! and in the epitaph of Agatha Wellsborne, their mother—Barlow's *cara sposa*—it is epigrammatically written:—

“quinque suarum
Præsulibus vidit, Præsulis ipsa, datas.”

Barlow's son, William, became a prebendary of Wells, but little is known of him. There are two or three letters from him in the Zurich Collection, from which I extract the following (2nd Series, p. 362). Speaking of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, then, an. 1575, confined in Sheffield castle, he says: “The Queen of the North, the plague of Britain, *the prince of darkness in the form of a she-wolf*, is still kept in custody among us.” Most amiable gentleman! Gentle scion of a gentle shepherd!

I contend, then, from the premises, that he *would*

avoid consecration if he *could*. His declared principles indicate that he *would*; his journey to Scotland, and Cranmer's favour and collusion, show that he *could*; therefore he *did*; and this the absence of all record tends to prove.

And now I wish to draw your attention to one or two more facts. Royal mandates of consecration during Henry's reign, after the assumption of supremacy, were, as a rule, similarly worded. Cranmer was commanded to consecrate and invest the elect with all episcopal insignia. *But the mandate for Barlow is exceptionally worded.* I will give you the general form of words. The mandate next preceding Barlow's is for Edward Fox to the see of Hereford (Rymer, xiv, p. 552). Here is an extract:—"Vobis per hæc scripta mandamus quatenus hujusmodi electionem et Electum cum omni celeritate accommodâ confirmetis, et munus Consecrationis eidem Confirmatæ et personæ suæ debitè impendatis prout convenit, et cætera omnia et singula faciatis et exequamini quæ ad hujusmodi Confirmationis et *Consecrationis* munera qualitercunque simul vel successivè tangunt seu tangere poterunt quomodolibet."

"By this writ, we command that you confirm the election and the person of the elect with all convenient dispatch, and that you duly impart to the same, and to his person the benefit of consecration, as it is meet; and that you do and execute all other and singular things pertaining to, or which may in any wise pertain, together or successively, to the conferring of such confirmation and consecration."

Then follows the restitution of the temporalities, in which we read:—"Cum R'mus in Christo Pater Thomas

Cant. Arch'us . . . Edwardum Fox Episcopum consecra-
verit, ipsumque Episcopalibus insigniis investiverit sicut
per Literas Patentes Nobis constat, Nos, etc."

"Whereas the most Rev. Father in Christ, Thomas
Archbishop of Canterbury hath consecrated Edward Fox
a bishop, and hath invested him with episcopal insignia,
as it appeareth from his letters patent directed unto us,
we," etc.

But how is Barlow's mandate worded? Simply and
only thus:—"Et hoc vobis tenore præsentium signifi-
camus ut quod vestrum est in hac parte exequamini."

"And this we signify unto you by the tenor of these
presents, that in this matter you do what belongs to
your office."

Nothing more! It is clearly left to Cranmer's dis-
cretion. Was not this done for a purpose?

There is another similarly short mandate, and it is for
a man whom, *à priori*, I should just have guessed at as
likely to prefer liberty in that respect—namely, Rowland
Lee, appointed to Coventry and Lichfield; a man most
conspicuous for his anti-papal violence, and his unscrupulous
subserviency to Henry's will. I strongly suspect
he was not consecrated. There is, too, a marked irregu-
larity in the record of Lee's consecration in Cranmer's
register. He is represented as having been one of a batch
of three, consecrated April 19, 1534: Goodrich of Ely,
Capon of Bangor (afterwards of Salisbury), and himself,
by Thomas Cantuar., John Lincoln, and Christopher Sidon.
And yet Goodrich is registered at fol 87, and Rowland
Lee at fol 156, separated by 69 leaves or 138 pages.

Then there is another proceeding connected with
Barlow's promotion to St. David's, which is entirely ex-

ceptional, and indicates an absence of consecration. On the 26th day of April, 1536, he was invested with the temporalities of the see, being then unconsecrated. This was entirely contrary to the established law; and the royal letter conferring them is also exceptionally worded. What ~~was~~ at *that* date the settled rule? From the year 1534, the period of the abolition of Papal supremacy, down to the abolition of the *congé d'élire* under Edward VI, the royal document by which the temporalities were granted, recited, as preliminary conditions, *all* the previous steps that were necessary to constitute a full and perfect bishop—*congé d'élire*, election, royal assent, confirmation, consecration, investing with episcopal insignia, and the accepted homage and fealty of the nominee. For instance, I have now lying before me, the royal grant of temporalities to Shaxton of Sarum, dated April 1, 1535. (Rymer, xiv, p. 550.) All the above-named circumstances are recited as the preliminary conditions which have been complied with, in order to entitle the bishop to his temporalities. Indeed, I find that this was the regular and settled order. There was one exception—that of Bonner—with this all-important difference, however, that he *was* afterwards consecrated, and his consecration registered. Well, then, what was the form of the royal grant to Barlow? Here it is—

“Henricus VIII, etc. Sciatis quod cū Cathedralis Ecclesia Menevensis per mortem Richardi Rawlins nuper Episcopi Meneven. nuper viduata, ac Pastoralis fuerit destituta solatio, et vacaverit; eo prætextu, omnes exitus et proficua, fermæ redditus, reversiones cum commoditatibus et emolumentis temporalium Episcopatus illius nobis, jure prærogativæ nostræ Regiæ pertinuerunt et

spectaverunt, ac pertinere ac spectare dignoscuntur. Cumque Præcentor et Capitulum dictæ Cathedralis Ecclesiæ post mortem prædicti Episcopi, licentiâ nostrâ prius obtentâ dilectum et fidelem nostrum Willelmum Barlow, nunc dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Meneven. per nos nominatum Episcopum, in suum elegerunt Episcopum et Pastorem, Reverendissimus in Christo Pater Thomas Cantuar. Archiep. electionem illam acceptaverit et confirmaverit; ipsumque sic electum Episcopum prædictæ Ecclesiæ Menev. præfecerit et Pastorem sicut per Litteras patentes ipsius Archiep. inde directas nobis constat; nos nunc certis de causis, et considerationibus nos specialiter moventibus, et ob sinceram dilectionem quam penes præfatum nunc Episcopum, gerimus et habemus, de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, et ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus, et per præsentem damus et concedimus, pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris, etc. In cujus rei testimonium, etc., 26 Aprilis.”

“ Know ye, that whereas the cathedral church of St. David’s has, by the death of Richard Rawlins, late Bishop of St. David’s, been widowed, and deprived of pastoral comfort, and is thereby vacant; and whereas, on that account, all the proceeds and profits, farm-rents, reversions, together with the beneficial uses and temporal emoluments of the said bishopric have belonged and accrued to us, by the right of our royal prerogative, and the same are known so to belong and accrue: and whereas the Præcentor and Chapter of the said cathedral church, after the death of the aforesaid bishop, with our previous licence, have chosen for their bishop and pastor, our well-beloved and faithful William Barlow, named by us a bishop, and whereas the Most Reverend Father in Christ Thomas

Archbishop of Canterbury hath accepted and confirmed that election, and hath set over the aforesaid church of St. David's the said bishop so elected, as appeareth by the letters patent of the said archbishop to us directed— We now, for certain causes and considerations *specially* moving us, and for the sincere affection which we have and bear towards the *aforesaid bishop*, have, hereby, with special favour, and with certain knowledge, and of our own free act, given and granted, and do by these presents give and grant, on our own part, and for our heirs and successors," etc.

Thus it is evident that Barlow, without consecration, was put into possession of the full rights and prerogatives of a full bishop. The holding of the temporalities entitled him to sit in Parliament as a baron : and this precious worthy wanted no more in the episcopal way. The king himself represents the grant as special and abnormal. And why? Because he alludes only to confirmation, and not to consecration. He unmistakably omits the word consecration, which he undoubtedly would not have done, had Barlow been really consecrated ; for then the inconvenience of deviating from the law would have been avoided ; the observance of which would have been more satisfactory on other accounts. And yet with all this, the king in this document styles him simply, and *sine addito*,—a bishop.

Connected with Barlow's sitting in Parliament, there is a curious and mystifying fact. He was Bishop of St. David's from 1536 to 1548. During that period there are two summonses to Parliament recorded in Rymer,—in 1536, and 1541. Barlow's name was William ; in the Latin documents always *Willielmus*. Now, among the

bishops summoned, the Bishop of St. David's is styled, in both instances, *T. Episcopus Meneven*. I will here produce the two lists from Rymer.

Summonitio ad Parliamentum. 27 April. 1536 (vol. xiv, p. 563). Rex Reverendissimo in Christo Patri T. eâdem gratiâ Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi,

Item,

E. Archiepiscopo Eborum.	N. Episcopo Sarum.
J. Episcopo London.	R. Episcopo Cicestren.
J. Episcopo Exon.	J. Episcopo Carliol.
T. Episcopo Elien.	J. Episcopo Roffen.
C. Episcopo Dunelm.	R. Episcopo Covent. et Lich.
J. Episcopo Bathon. et	Episcopo Landaven.
Wellen.	Episcopo Bangoren.
H. Episcopo Wigorn.	T. Episcopo Meneven. (St.
J. Episcopo Lincoln.	David's.)

Custodi Spiritualitatis Episcopatus Winton.

(ipso Episcopo in remotis agente.)

Custodi Spiritualitatis Episcopatus Hereforden.

(ipso Episcopo in remotis agente.)

Custodi Spiritualitatis Episcopatus Norwicen.

(ipsâ sede vacante.)

Custodi Spiritualitatis Episcopatus Assaven.

(ipsâ sede vacante).

The other list of episcopal dignitaries summoned 23rd November, 1541 (from Rymer, xiv. p. 737), is as follows :—

Rex, etc.

T. Archiepiscopo Cantuar.	N. Episcopo Roffen.
E. Archiepiscopo Eborum.	S. Episcopo Winton.
E. Episcopo London.	T. Episcopo Meneven (St.
J. Episcopo Exon.	David's).

T. Episcopo Elien.	W. Episcopo Norwicen.
C. Episcopo Dunelm.	R. Episcopo Landaven.
W. Episcopo Bath. et Wellen	J. Episcopo Hereforden.
R. Episcopo Coventr. et Lich.	R. Episcopo Assaven.
J. Episcopo Wigorn.	T. Episcopo Westm.
J. Episcopo Lincoln.	Episcopo Gloucestr.
J. Episcopo Sarum.	J. Episcopo de Burgo Sancti
R. Episcopo Cicestren.	Petri.
R. Episcopo Karliol.	J. Episcopo Cestriæ
Custodi Spiritualitatis Episcopatus Bangoriensis	
(ipsâ sede vacante.)	

I have taken the trouble to verify the initials of all the other bishops, in both lists; and they are, *every one*, correctly given in both cases; although many changes had taken place between the two dates: yet, in each case, it is not W. but T. for St. David's! Neither is it an error of the press; for I find that it is really T. in the Rolls. What can it be? Can it be some Cranmer-Cromwell-Barlow dodge? Cromwell, who countersigns the first summons, was right well acquainted with Barlow's name. Le Courayer alludes to these summonses to Parliament; but, being aware of this difficulty, he has the bad faith to omit *all* the initials.

There is another mystification connected with Barlow's name, in the registration of Bulkley's consecration, Feb. 19, 1541. There were three bishops employed on the occasion; the first is recorded as Joannes Sarum; the third as Joannes Gloucestrensis; but the second as Menevensis only. (See *Clerophilus Alethes*, p. 233.)

Barlow, like Kitchin of Llandaff, might be called the "calamity of his see" as to alienation and spoliation. At St. David's, "he either gave away or sold to Mr. Deve-

reux the manor of Llamfey, the episcopal residence, with all the adjacent woods and forests." (*Anglia Sacra, Not. ad Girald. Cambr. de Jure Menev. Eccl.*, p. 619.) As to Bath, he seems to have been promoted to that see by the Protector Somerset, for a consideration; for we have from him a strange Episcopal document (Rymer, xv, p. 171), drawn up a short time after his translation, in which he uses "ego" instead of the Episcopal "nos", and which is a deed of absolute transfer to the Crown of a large number of domains and estates belonging to the see. Ostensibly and colourably, it is in exchange for certain other properties which belonged to Glastonbury Abbey; but—mark this—to be granted: "mihi et successoribus meis dandarum, concedendarum." Was not this truly a bird in the bush! Certainly, not in the hand. The Protector, however, had *his* bird fast enough. Godwin, whose father was one of Barlow's successors at Bath, has left us a sad account of this, not in his *De Præsulibus*, but in a MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, and thus quoted by Richardson: "Hæc unâ in re infelix hic Præsul existimandus est, quod ipso Episcopante cladem acceperit gravissimam hæc sua sedes, *amissis* uno eodemque tempore *omnibus vectigalibus et redditibus ad eam spectantibus!*"

"In this one respect this prelate is to be accounted unfortunate, that during his episcopate this his see suffered a most grievous calamity; the *whole* of the revenues belonging to it being at one and the same time lost."

But it has been objected—how could Cranmer and Barlow dare to expose themselves to Henry's displeasure? There was no danger on this point. Henry spared no man in his anger; but he was very pleasant and affable

to those who retained his good graces. Now, what was the avoidance of consecration according to the Roman Pontifical, and what was Barlow's doctrine that the King was the all-sufficient fountain of Orders as well as jurisdiction? Why, it was a compliment to His Majesty. It was a full and legitimate development of the supremacy which Henry prized so much. It is not in human nature to be cruel, angry, and tyrannical to those who flatter you, who uphold your power and prerogative, who show zeal in following out your principles, though they may go further than they are authorized. In such a case there might be a willingness to moderate zeal; but anger?—no. Barlow, too, was Henry's chaplain, and a favourite, as is clear from his confidential mission to the King of Scots.

As to the enactment of 1534, threatening with *præmunire* those who delayed to consecrate beyond twenty days, its object is entirely mistaken by many. This was, not to enforce consecration, but to prevent recourse to Rome. It was a threat to the consecrating bishops, not to the nominee, who would of course be an upholder of the supremacy. It was passed on the occasion of the complete breach with Rome, because it was natural to fear that some of the bishops would scruple to consecrate without the accustomed authorization of the Holy See. The time, therefore, was limited to prevent this. But when the elect himself cared not for consecration, or even abhorred it, there might easily be no consecration, for there would be no danger of recourse to Rome.

I am aware that this objection about the danger of incurring Henry's anger has, by repetition, become a sort of cuckoo cry, and passes for unanswerable with super-

ficial disputants. Bramhall gave the key-note, when he said that Henry was no "baby", thus to be trifled with. But really it is a very *cheap* objection. It costs no study; and implies great ignorance—ignorance of the weight and number of the peculiar facts of the case—ignorance, also, of the temper of Henry VIII on this point. There *might* have been some danger in opposing the Six Articles; but even these were resisted—by Cranmer and Latimer, for instance—without losing their heads. Henry, indeed, on the occasion of Cranmer's opposition, took the unusual course of sending for him, to assure him that, notwithstanding his resistance, he still retained the royal favour. Now, why could Cranmer thus act with impunity? Because he was obsequious to Henry on that question which was so dear to the King's heart—his sole and supreme spiritual and ecclesiastical dominion. There was nothing in favour of Episcopal jurisdiction or orders in the Six Articles. To exalt his sovereign and exclusive jurisdiction was the way, not to incur his wrath, but to stand high in his favour; and thus we can account for the boldness with which Barlow avowed his anti-episcopal principles. And therefore, although he found it necessary to *pass* for a bishop with the world, yet he knew that a monarch that approved of the profession, would not disapprove the practice, of a principle. "In fine, it was the wish and policy of Henry," says Dugdale, in his *History of Warwickshire*, "to appoint such bishops as would further his designs in the entire abolition of Papal supremacy, and his own assumption of supreme and exclusive ecclesiastical power." The Protestant Dr. Brett, indeed, goes so far as to assert that it was Henry's abominable design to abolish the Episcopal

office altogether. Even as it was, the bishops were merely his dependent commissioners—or “delegates”, as Collier calls them; nay, they even became the humble lacqueys of his lay-vicar Cromwell. See the signatures to the Six Articles—who stands first? who heads the list? Thomas Cromwell. Then comes Thomas Cantuar., and the roll of bishops. Depend upon it, a sovereign who appoints a layman his vicar-general *in spiritualibus*, to lord it over metropolitans and suffragans alike, would not fly into a passion because one of that layman’s subordinate officials had not received, from another source, an unction empowering him “to govern the Church of God.”

Our Anglican friends have brought Dr. Lingard forward as one disposed to admit the possible validity of their Orders. This, in *our* eyes, is a most grievous and unjust imputation. Dr. Lingard rejected, as every Catholic rejects, their validity. It would be a scandal with us were he or any other Catholic to sail in the same ship with Le Courayer. The theological point of defect as to matter, form, and intention, was quite sufficient for Dr. Lingard to come to the conclusion which the Catholic Church has universally adopted.

What he admitted was, the greater probability of Barlow’s consecration, and the fact of that of Parker. Now, in this I differ from my friend Dr. Lingard. He does not seem to have made particular researches as to Barlow’s case; for in his first editions he does not allude to it, and in the latter edition he treats of it in a note. I will shortly discuss his reasons. He says, that as Barlow acted as bishop during ten years of Henry’s reign, and took his place in Parliament and Convocation, it is “unreasonable” to suppose him not consecrated. He

says, also, that there is no document to show that Gardiner was consecrated; yet no one doubts his consecration.

To this I reply—Yes, without positive reasons, it would be unreasonable; but with such reasons, it becomes reasonable to doubt. Some of these reasons I have adduced. As to Barlow sitting in Parliament, among several reasons, I will choose one very conclusive. It is this:—It was not necessary, apparently, in Henry's reign, for the ecclesiastical representative of a diocese to be a bishop at all. This is clear from the various lists (in Rymer) of those summoned. In the case of a vacancy of a see, or of a bishop being abroad, the "*Custos Spiritualitatis*" was summoned. He is classed in those lists with the bishops, and I presume was admitted, just as the mitred abbots who were not bishops. Now, whether Barlow was consecrated or not, he was undoubtedly the *Custos Spiritualitatis* of St. David's.

Then, as to Gardiner, one of my previous observations as to non-apparent records in other cases applies. There *may be* a record *somewhere*; and it so happens that in this very instance Dr. Lingard is mistaken, for there *is* a record of Gardiner's consecration. It is among the archives of Canterbury Cathedral. My authority is the *Lowth MS.* quoted by Richardson. This is the note:—"Consecratus Nov. 27, 1531—ita in MS. Lowth e Regist. Cant. Dies verò Dominica non fuit." (Richardson's *Godwin*, p. 236.)

Richardson describes and sets forth the authority of this MS. in his preface. Gardiner's temporalities were ceded to him Dec. 5, 1531 (Rymer xiv. p. 429). There is also a record of Gardiner's consecration in the diocesan

register at Winchester, with the date Dec. 3, 1531; and Dec. 6, for his installation. This discrepancy with the Lowth MS. is explained by the date of the MS. being that of the *commission* to consecrate. Of Dr. Lingard, therefore, may be said what the poet says of another great man—

“quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.”

In conclusion, I must aver that I am myself quite satisfied that Barlow was never consecrated. This, of course, is no argument; but this I do say: I defy any candid and unbiassed man, when he considers the facts alleged,—the ultra-Erastian principles, the ecclesiastical libertinism, the character and conduct of the man,—to resist a *doubt* of his consecration. And yet our Anglican friends must rest the whole superstructure of their hierarchy on this quicksand! I have reason to know that there are some among them who would join us immediately if convinced of the invalidity of their Orders; but surely, surely, even a doubt ought to make them think seriously of such a step. They flatter themselves that at some future time, perhaps not distant, their Church will be recognized as a Church, and we shall be reunited, as it were, on equal terms. Impossible, my friends, impossible! The consummation of time will come, before the Catholic Church will admit your priesthood! The poet says,

“Rusticus expectat dum defuist amnis.”

I may give a new version of this for those who expect this impossibility, and say,—

“Anglicus expectat dum defuist *Ævum*!”

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court, St. Peter's Chair at Rome, 1858.

LETTER III.

MR. BARLOW NOT A BISHOP.

SIR,—After the moral demonstration of the non-episcopal character of the individual who is alleged to have presided at the alleged consecration of Parker at Lambeth, I take the liberty to designate him plain Mr. Barlow. This, in fact, is the style and title by which he was addressed at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, as is evident from the private memoirs of Cecil, the Secretary of State, the great architect of the Elizabethan temple, and the patron who appointed Barlow to Chichester. Among Cecil's papers were found the rough memoranda for 1559. One was a list of "spiritual men without promotion at this time." It begins thus:—"Mr. Barlow, Scory, Dr. Cox," etc. So Mr. Secretary did not seem to think much of his episcopal character.

Much stress is laid by some on the non-conclusiveness of the argument derived from the absence of all record of Barlow's consecration, inasmuch as several others have been unregistered, who undoubtedly were bishops. In the first place, I will observe in reply, that the non-registration is, though a necessary, yet a *small* part of the case against him. In the next, that his case as to non-registration is different from the others, for his confirmations have been *twice* registered, unaccompanied by

the record of consecration ; and that the others, not recorded in Cranmer's Register, and mentioned by Perceval, are most, if not all of them, recorded elsewhere. I mentioned in my last, for instance, that Gardiner's, which is omitted from Warham's Register, has been recorded in the *Diocesan*; and the commission to consecrate him in the Lowth MS. Of the following, which, according to Perceval, are not found in Cranmer's Register, I have gleaned these particulars.

Fox of Hereford.—Consecratus 26 Septemb. 1535 ab Archiepiscopo Cant. et Episcopis Winton et Sarum in Ecclesiâ Cathed. Winton. Registr. Fox. ad finem registri Booth. (Richardson.)—[Consecrated 26 Sept. 1535, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, in the cathedral of Winchester. Fox's register, at the end of Booth's.]

Latimer of Worcester.—Restitution of temporalities is in Rymer (xiv, 553), in which his consecration is attested by Cranmer's letter to the king, Henry VIII.

Sampson of Chichester.—Confirmatus est Jun. 10 et consecratus Jun. 11, 1536. Registr. Cranmer, fol. 189. (Richardson.) Here Richardson and Perceval are at issue. Perceval, it appears, is right ; for the register, at fol. 189, records the confirmation only. Besides, how could Sampson be consecrated June 11, when the royal assent is dated that same day? (Rymer, xiv, 570.) However, there is the writ of restitution of temporalities in Rymer (xiv, 573) in which Cranmer attests the consecration.

Hilsey of Rochester.—Consecratus apud Vinchestre, Winton Diocesis. 18 Sept. 1535. Registr. Hilsey (Richardson, 537). Consecrated at Winchester, Winton Diocese ;

from the Hilsey Register.—Temporalities restored Oct. 4, 1535—reciting consecration. (Rymer xiv, 553.)

Repps, or Rugg, of Norwich.—Perceval is here mistaken; Repps's consecration is in Cranmer's register; at least the certificate of it from the archbishop. The date is June 11, 1536. Strype, too, is wrong, who gives the date July 2, which is that of Wharton of St. Asaph.

Skip, of Hereford.—Browne Willis, a most respectable authority, says he was consecrated Nov. 23, 1539; referring to the Hereford register. Le Neve does the same (p. 111). There is also in Rymer (xiv, 648) a royal license to Skip to hold the archdeaconries of Dorset and Suffolk, "Non obstante munere consecrationis suscepto"—"notwithstanding the reception of the rite of consecration."

Bell, of Worcester.—Restitution of temp. August 4, 1539 (Rymer, xiv, 642), Cranmer attesting the consecration.

These examples show that other consecrations (if there be any unaccounted for) may be found recorded *somewhere*, or the fact attested by some competent authority. Barlow's, however, is quite different; it has eluded the most prying researches.

Having alluded to Perceval, I have to say that I shall probably comment on some strange assertions in his book on a future occasion; but at present I cannot pass over his astonishing inaccuracy about Barlow. He says of him, that at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign "he had been Bishop of Chichester" (*Apology*, p. 175, 1st edit.), and at page 176 he gives, as the consecrator of Parker, "William Chichester;" whereas, according to the register itself (which Mr. Perceval, above others, is supposed to

have examined) he is named and described as "elect" of Chichester, and a bishop unattached. As the alleged consecrator of Parker, therefore, he could not possibly sign himself "William Chichester"; and if that really be in the register, it is one of the forger's blunders which I intend in a future letter to expose.

With what mystification is this case of Barlow surrounded! With a *bond fide* consecration there would be no cause for mystification. But suppose a man acting a part, and while eluding the rite, wishing to pass for a bishop, then you may expect mystification, even as a corroboration of the fact; and mystification there accordingly is in abundance. We have seen something of this in the last letter; and now I will produce much more, which I might defy Œdipus to unravel. He was, as we have seen, employed in an embassy to James V of Scotland, from the beginning of February down to July 26, 1536. He seems to have been entrusted with a similar mission in 1534, proceeding to Scotland in October, with the style of "Mr. Barlowe, Clerke Priour of the Monastery of Bisham," and remaining there three or four months. However, we need take no account of that. The precise date of his starting for Scotland in February 1535-6 is not ascertained. He certainly was in Scotland at the commencement of March, as appears by one of his letters in the State-Paper Office. Now, take notice,—that letter is signed, "Will'm Barlo", he being at that date the elect and *confirmed* of St. Asaph,—confirmed be it observed, in his absence. According to the Oxford editor of Bramhall (*Anglo-Catholic Library*, vol. iii, pp. 138 *et seq.*), he must have made three journeys to and from Scotland during his ambassadorial charge. He was,

then, in London in the following month, April, for he was confirmed, we are told, *in person*, to the See of St. David's, April 21 (Cranmer's register). He starts again for Scotland without the least delay, for we find him at King James's court on May 13 (*State Papers*, temp. Henry VIII, num. 295-300). But, now, he had already signed himself, on April 25, "Will'mus Menev." (William Bishop of St. David's), although he is yet, according to the evidence, and according to the acknowledgment of the Oxford editor just alluded to (certainly the most respectable authority on the other side), not consecrated, but only confirmed to St. David's.

Thus we find him, when *confirmed* to St. Asaph, signing himself plain William Barlow: when confirmed to St. David's, though not having a higher status in relation to the episcopal dignity, signing himself as an absolute bishop, Willielmus Menevensis, and therefore intending to *pass* for a bishop. Well, but strange to say, there is a document to show that on May 20, nearly a month afterwards, and after Barlow's return from his confirmation in London, the King of Scotland styled him "Bishop of St. Aseph" (vol. iii, *ut supra*, p. 142). Does not a sovereign know the exact style and dignity of an envoy accredited to his court? Is it not an especial point of *étiquette de rigueur* that the rank of an ambassador should be signified to the court to which he is sent? Is it not equally so that the said sovereign should not address him by a wrong title? And yet James addresses him as connected with a See with which he had ceased to be connected since April 10, the day of his election to St. David's.

Barlow, however, according to this account, remains in

Scotland but a very short time on this occasion also ; for we are told he ~~was~~ installed in the House of Lords on June 30. Then he is off immediately to Scotland again, for he was there in July, as we have seen from Drummond's history ; and then he sets out on his final return. Now, in perusing this, has not the reader been amazed, and cried with Dominie Sampson,—prodigious !—utterly astounded at Barlow's power of locomotion ? In these days we are accustomed to the ideas of expeditious travelling ; in this age of the iron rail we can speak, in an off-hand style, of running down to Scotland and back. But remember, in those days there was neither stage nor steam ; neither macadamized roads nor night-travelling. How long, think you, would a journey to Scotland then have occupied ? The distance from London to Stirling Castle, where the Scottish court then resided, is, I take it, about 450 miles. A fortnight, at least, would be spent on the road. For the double journey there and back (900 miles), at least a month ; especially in the case of a dignified episcopal ambassador and suite. Between February, then, and July, Barlow must have been on the king's highway three whole months, and have travelled thrice 900, that is two thousand seven hundred miles ! A prodigious feat of mobilisation, indeed, for a grave and dignified ecclesiastic, jogging on an ambling palfrey.

During this locomotive period, he changes his rank. Having started as elect of St. Asaph, he returns finally acknowledged on all hands as Bishop of St. David's. When, then, was he consecrated ? If these journeys to and fro are mythical, the case is clear,—he could not possibly be consecrated as being absent from England. If, however,—marvellous as they are,—they still be facts,

when could he—when ought he to have been consecrated? I will tell you when. On the occasion of his confirmation in April. Can we believe that, if he desired consecration, he would travel to London from Stirling and receive confirmation only? What? undergo the fatigue of a double journey of 900 miles to receive that step only in his promotion, which by no means required his presence; which in his own case of confirmation to St. Asaph was discharged by proxy; and which was *usually* done by proxy, even in the case of those who were within an easy distance, and even on the spot? If consecrated at all, then, it must have been on that occasion. But was he? Clearly not. The register records his confirmation, and there stops. Had it been silent altogether, there might have been a colourable reason for attributing the omission to the negligent mode of keeping the register. But recording the one and not the other, is a clear indication that on *that* occasion there was no further step taken. Indeed, the Oxford editor acknowledges that he was not then consecrated, and tries to account for it by supposing that there might not have been a sufficient number of bishops at hand to officiate. An airy conjecture, indeed. Surely, if the elect could come from the *ultima Thule* to town, the neighbouring bishops might well be invited, who, by the way, had their town residences, and of whom some, I imagine, were always in London.

The writer I have alluded to, in his copious notes to Bramhall, has certainly evinced extensive research in treating of this subject of Barlow's consecration; more so, in fact, than any Anglican before him. As to his author, Bramhall, he is a poor authority, and a blustering bungler, whom the editor himself is occasionally forced

to correct. But still, notwithstanding his researches, he is particularly vulnerable, and, to my mind, practically gives up the battle. In the first place, his candour forces him to make an admission, the result of his researches, which no Anglican polemic before him has made; namely, that Barlow was not consecrated before June: "this," says he, is "almost certain." What, then, is his theory? Evidently reasoning on the foregone conclusion that it is *impossible* to suppose Barlow not consecrated, he propounds a *mere conjecture* as the solution of the difficulty. He supposes that Barlow was consecrated on June 11; when Repps was consecrated to the See of Norwich; when Sampson of Chichester probably was, and when Barlow *must* have been; because there was no other day at that period of the year on which consecration was recorded to have been administered. He says, the reason of Barlow not being registered, was simply—negligence in keeping the register. There were only three days during 1536 on which consecrations are recorded to have taken place: on June 11, Repps is *recorded* to have been consecrated, therefore Barlow was also, but not recorded from sheer negligence. This, really, is not a very bright specimen of Oxonian logic,—it fails even in the line which he takes. For while labouring to throw discredit on Cranmer's register on the score of negligence, he fails to see that it is more natural to omit, as the effect of negligence, a consecration *day* altogether, and a whole batch that might be consecrated on that day, than to take the pen and register *one*, and to omit another consecrated at the same time.

His other argument in support of this conjecture rests upon the alleged rank and precedence of Barlow in

the roll of bishops in the House of Lords. He says that he comes after Repps, of Norwich, and Sampson, of Chichester, and before Wharton, of St. Asaph. As he supposes Barlow to have been consecrated together with Repps and Sampson, he also supposes him to have been their junior in age; and, therefore, their precedence is due to their seniority. Now, in the first place, this is the merest and the most gratuitous conjecture: in my opinion, Barlow was the oldest of the three. But let that pass. The argument is untenable; it rests even on a false basis; and the contrary is true. In the case of three bishops simultaneously consecrated, priority of confirmation, I believe, and not age, would decide precedence. Now, what was the fact in this instance? Why, that Barlow was confirmed on April 21, and on April 27, *was summoned, as a full Bishop of St. David's, to take his seat in that very House of Lords*; while in that same summons, the see of Norwich was declared vacant, and consequently Repps was not even dreamed of for the post, and, in fact, was not even elected till May 31! “T. Episcopo Menevensi. Custodi Spiritualitatis Episcopatus Norwicensis, ipsâ sede vacante.” The order, therefore, in which their names may stand in the Parliamentary Roll, proves nothing. In the lists of bishops summoned to Parliament, quoted from Rymer in my last, there is evidently no account taken of precedence.

But not only is there is no order of precedence in the lists in Rymer, but the very episcopal rolls in the journals of the House of Lords fail him as proofs of precedence. He speaks of the “unvarying order of precedence in Parliament” (vol. iii, Preface—not paged); and, therefore, as

Sampson of Chichester, Repps of Norwich, Barlow of St. David's, and Wharton of St. Asaph, stand in that "unvarying order" on the roll, Barlow's date of consecration is thereby indicated. Of course this is begging the question; it is supposing the fact of consecration which is denied. But, waiving that for a moment, I deny the "unvarying order" of the Parliamentary roll. I acquit the writer of any intentional misstatement; all I will charge him with is, that he has not thoroughly examined the rolls. This, however, *I* have done. I have examined each episcopal roll of the Lords' journals for each day of that particular session of 1536: not indeed in the original MS., but in the printed volume in the British Museum. The result is, I find a *varying* order of precedence, even as to the very names in question.

For instance, on June 12, the third day of the Parliament—the first day on which there is a roll of bishops—the Bishop of Norwich is on the roll before the Bishop of Chichester; and on that day, the Bishop of Chichester was summoned. On June 13, the fourth day of Parliament, Norwich occurs on the roll before Chichester. June 14, Norwich is again before Chichester. On June 17, however, Chichester is placed before Norwich; and, strange to say, on that day, the writ of summons to the Bishop of Norwich was brought to the House; although Chichester, who had received his writ of summons on the 12th, had, down to this day, been inscribed *after* Norwich on the roll. The entry stands thus:—
"Hodiè allatum est regium breve Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Johanni Norwicen, Episcopo directum." Here, too, we have a proof of the absence of infallible accuracy even in a journal of Parliament; for Repps's

name was assuredly William, and not John. It occurs to me also to ask, if Norwich could be put on the roll before he was summoned, and if Barlow was consecrated on the same day, June 11, why not on the roll also, before he was summoned, or rather before the "regium breve" was brought to the House? He does not appear on the roll before June 30. But to proceed with the roll: On June 19, Chichester is before Norwich; June 20, Chichester before Norwich; June 22, Chichester before Norwich; June 26, the same; June 27, the same; June 29, the same; June 30, Chichester, then Norwich, then St. David's (Menevensis) for the first time. This is the entry:—"Hodiè allatum est Regium Breve Reverendo in Christo Patri W. Menivenc. (*sic*) Episcopo directum," etc. I observe, in passing, that the style for the Bishop of Norwich was "Reverendissimo"; for Barlow, it is "Reverendo". July 4; the Bishop of Hereford occurs on the roll for the first time, and is summoned. July 14; the Bishop of St. Asaph (Wharton, consecrated July 2,) is summoned and stands last. There is a still more striking instance of the varying order of precedence on the rolls of Parliament in the case of the Bishops of Lincoln and Bath, in this very session of 1536. There was an interval of two years between their consecrations. John Longland, of Lincoln, was consecrated May 5, 1521. John Clerk, of Bath, in 1523; appointed by Bull of Papal provision, March 26. Temporalities restored May 2 (Rymer xiii, p. 792). Well, in the Lords' Journal, on June 12, Bath is before Lincoln; June 13, Bath again before Lincoln; June 14, Bath again before Lincoln; but on June 17, Lincoln is before Bath; June 19, Lincoln is before Bath; and so to the close of the session.

Now, then, I ask, what becomes of the assertion about the "unvarying order of precedence" in the rolls of Parliament? And what strength can it add to the otherwise untenable position which the Oxford editor endeavours to defend?

This writer is also unfortunate in another of his arguments. *He*, too, alludes to what I have already refuted, namely, that Cranmer and Barlow would not expose themselves to Henry's anger. Why, if his theory be true, they *did* expose themselves to Henry's ire, and Cranmer to the penalty of præmunire; for June 11 was a long time after the expiration of the twenty days from Barlow's confirmation to St. David's, and still more from that to St. Asaph.

Thus his arguments for Barlow's consecration fall to the ground, while his candid concession as to the late date of June, is fatal and decisive in the adverse sense. There are other inconsistencies and discrepancies in this writer's handling of the subject, such as calling Lord William, Lord Robert Howard (Preface, vol. iii), and asserting that Hooper objected to consecration *solely* on account of the vestments; whereas if he will open the volume of "*Original Letters relative to the English Reformation*," (the first of the three published by the Parker Society,) he will find at page 86 a letter from Hooper himself to Henry Ballinger, dated June 29, 1550, in which he writes thus:—"On *many* accounts I declined mine, (bishopric) both by reason of the shameful and impious form of the oath, which all who choose to undertake the function of a bishop are compelled to put up with, and also on account of those Aaronic habits, etc."

Well, then, I ask, in conclusion, can any one who compares together the facts I have accumulated, imagine for a moment that man Barlow to have been a bishop? Is there not a moral demonstration to the contrary? At all events, where is the reasoning man who can divest himself of *doubt*, and therefore of *doubt* of the foundation of the Anglican Hierarchy?*

Yours faithfully in Christ,

J. W.

* While these Letters are in course of preparation for the press, my attention is called to a discussion on the subject of Barlow, recently introduced into *Notes and Queries*. I could pass many strictures on the same: suffice it to single out an extraordinary extract from the *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* of the Rev. W. Stubbs, contributed to *Notes and Queries* by B. B. Woodward, p. 93.—“1530, June 11, Lambeth. William St. David's. Consecrators Thomas (Cranmer), John (Voysey), Exeter, John (Clerk), Bath. Authorities, Haddon on Bramhall, vol. iii, pp. 138-143, and Preface (*Anglo-Catholic Library*, Oxford, 1844).” Haddon is the Oxford editor whom I have refuted in the above Letter. In the edited work he is anonymous, only giving his initials. But really, is it not *too bad* of Mr. Stubbs thus to produce in a registral form, as if authentic, what I have shown that Haddon himself advances only as a conjectural induction, and which I have shown to be an unwarranted conjecture? Stubbs is lauded in *Notes and Queries* for his “patient research”. If that be a specimen, he has not certainly the gift of discriminating between fact and surmise. To Haddon, certainly, praise for research may be accorded; but he is very vulnerable, notwithstanding; as I have abundantly proved in this and subsequent letters. I would particularly signalize that fatal oversight, which I have pointed out in the last Letter but two of this series.

LETTER IV.

PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

SIR,—Having disposed of Mr. Barlow, I address myself to the register,—not yours, but Parker's. That document, professing to record the consecration of Parker at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559, is, and has been, by all our Catholic writers, with, I believe, only one exception worth noting, suspected as spurious. As to myself, after much examination, I more than suspect it. To my mind the probabilities of fraud greatly preponderate.

It seems an ungracious thing, and to me it is really a distasteful office, possibly to offer violence to the feelings of our Anglican brethren by casting discredit on what they regard as a kind of charter of the Establishment, and the very title-deed of their estate. But truth is paramount to all, and charity to themselves requires it to be stated and developed, "*quamvis vos magis diligens, minus diligar.*" Let not our friends imagine that it is through a mere *odium theologicum* that we seek to disprove their Orders, or that it is through sheer *gaieté de cœur* that we delight in invalidating their claims to apostolical succession. This question of Orders is really *the* question between us and that section of Anglicans I address; as it is *the* obstacle which, I think, prevents many from returning to the Catholic Church. In my opinion it is a great

misfortune that they have no valid Orders, even supposing their heresy or schism ; for let us suppose them to be valid, then the moment they renounced their schism they might be admitted—if unmarried, and otherwise prepared—to the exercise of sacerdotal functions ; because that jurisdiction which they want could be at once given them by the Holy See, and they could be reunited like the Greeks at the Council of Florence : whereas Orders cannot be granted them without the reception of a Sacrament. This, I say, is a sad misfortune ; but, being so, it is true charity to insist on this question, and to impress upon their minds that there are three vitally essential points, on *all* of which they must be invulnerable in order to claim valid ordination, viz., one *de jure* and two *de facto* :—1, the question of matter, form, and intention ; 2, the truth of Parker's register attesting his consecration at Lambeth ; 3, supposing that consecration to be a fact, the episcopal character of Barlow, the consecrating bishop. If they fail in *one only*, their edifice totters to the ground ; but, alas ! they are vulnerable in *all*. With these preliminary observations I proceed to the question of Parker's register.

It is an historical fact that *forgery* was practised to a frightful extent during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. I will quote the words of a Protestant divine who, during his researches on a particular question, had abundant means of ascertaining the fact. He speaks in this indignant strain : “ Forgery (I blush for the honour of Protestantism while I write it) seems to have been peculiar to the reformed. I look in vain for one of these accursed outrages of imposition among the disciples of Popery.” Again : “ Forgery seems to have been the

peculiar disease of Protestantism." (Whitaker's *Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. iii, pp. 2, 45, 46, 54, etc.) This is, indeed, a severe and a sweeping charge,—a charge which I should never think of bringing against Protestants of the *present* day; for it would, indeed, be highly unjust; and which, even as to the times of Elizabeth, I should never quote, were it not the testimony of a Protestant. How extensive and prevalent must have been the practice when it draws forth from an Anglican clergyman so burning a censure!

That this tampering with documents and public records, and this fabrication of spurious deeds, was one of the crimes of the age, is sufficiently clear from the *Pardonatio Generalis per Dominum Regem* (James I), in Rymer, xvi, p. 532, from which I quote two passages: "Pardonamus per præsentēs—falsas fabricationes chartarum, scriptorum, munimentorum—et publicationes eorundem." And further on: "Omnes transgressionēs pro abrasione, rasurâ, et interlineatione aliquorum rotulorum, recordorum, brevium, warrantorum, recognitionum, sive aliorum memorandum nostrorum aut alicujus antecessorum—in aliquâ Curiâ sive aliquibus Curiis nostris," etc. There is a similar document in the fifteenth volume of Rymer, p. 498, issued by Elizabeth herself.

As few, perhaps, of your readers have seen the register of the ceremony of Parker's consecration, and as it contains even *internal* evidence sufficient to justify a strong suspicion, I here reproduce it *in extenso*.

COPY OF THE REGISTER OF CONSECRATION.

Rituū et cæremoniarum ordo in consecrando reverendissimo in Christo Patre Mattheo Parker, Cantuariensi

Archiepiscopo, in sacello suo apud manerium suum de Lambeth, die Dominico 17, viz. die mensis Decembris, Anno D'ni 1559, habit :

Principio sacellum tapetibus ad orientem adornabatur ; solum verò panno rubro insternebatur ; mensa quoque sacris peragendis necessaria, tapete pulvinarique ornata, ad orientem sita erat.

Quatuor præterea cathedræ quatuor Episcopis, quibus munus consecrandi Archiepiscopi delegabatur, ad austrum orientalis sacelli partis erant positæ.

Scamnum præterea tapete et pulvinaribus instratum, cui Episcopi genibus flexis inniterentur, ante cathedras ponebantur.

Pari quoque modo cathedra scamnumque tapete, pulvinarique ornatum, Archiepiscopo, ad borealem orientalis ejusdem sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

His rebus ita ordine suo instructis, manè circiter quintam aut sextam, per occidentalem portam ingreditur sacellum Archiepiscopus, togâ talari coccineâ caputioque indutus, quatuor præcedentibus funalibus, et quatuor comitatus Episcopis, qui ejus consecrationi inservirent : (verbi gratia) Gulielmo Barlow, olim Bathon. et Wellen. Episcopo, nunc vero ad Cicestren. Episcopatum electo ; Joanne Scory, olim Cicestren. Episcopo, et nunc ad Herefordiensem vocato ; Milone Coverdallo, olim Exoniensi Episcopo ; et Joanne Hodskinno, Bedfordiæ Suffraganeo. Qui omnes postquam sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupassent preces continuo matutinæ per Andream Peirson Archiepiscopi capellanum clara voce recitabantur : quibus peractis Joannes Scory (de quo supra diximus) suggestum conscendit atque inde assumpto sibi in thema, *Seniores ergo qui in vobis sunt obsecro consenior, etc.*, non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finita concione, egrediuntur simul Archiepiscopus, reliquique quatuor Episcopi sacellum se ad sacram communionem paraturi; neque mora, confestim per borealem portam [here is inserted in another hand "in vestiarum," meaning, I suppose, vestiarium] ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt; Archiepiscopus nimirum lineo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur. Cicestrensis electus capâ sericâ ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur, cui ministrabant, operamque suam præbebant duo Archiepiscopi capellani, Nicolaus viz. Bullingham Lincolnæ Archidiaconus, et Edmundus Gest Cantuariensis quoque Archidiaconus, capis sericis similiter vestiti; Hereford. electus et Bedford. suffraganeus lineis superpelliceis induebantur.

Milo Coverdallus non nisi togâ laneâ talari utebatur. Atque hunc in modum vestiti et instructi ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt, Archiepiscopo genibus flexis ad infimum sacelli gradum sedente.

Finito tandem evangelio, Hereforden. electus, Bedford. suffraganeus, et Milo Coverdallus (de quibus supra) Archiepiscopum coram Cicestrien. electo, apud mensam in cathedra sedente, his verbis adduxerunt; Reverende in Deo pater, hunc virum pium pariter atque doctum tibi offerimus atque præsentamus, ut Archiepiscopus consecratur. Postquam hæc dixissent proferebatur illicò reginæ diploma, sive mandatum pro consecratione Archiepiscopi; quo per D. Thomam Yale legum doctore in perlecto, sacramentum de regio primatu, sive supremâ ejus auctoritate tuendâ juxta statuta 10. anno regni sereniss. reginæ nostræ Elizabethæ promulgata, ab eodem Archiepiscopo exigebatur; quod cum ille solemniter tactis corporaliter sacris evangeliis, conceptis verbis præstitisset, Cicestrien. electus quædam præfatus, atque populum

ad orationem hortatus, ad litanias decantandas choro respondente se accinxit. Quibus finitis post quaestiones aliquot Archiepiscopo per Cicestrien. electum propositas, et post orationes et suffragia quædam juxta formam libri auctoritate parlamenti editi ad Deum habita, Cicestriensis, Herefordiensis, suffraganeus Bedfordiensis, et Milo Coverdallus manibus Archiepiscopo impositis: Accipe, inquiunt, Spiritum Sanctum; et gratiam Dei, quæ jam per impositionem manuum in te est, excitare memento. Non enim timoris sed virtutis dilectionis et sobrietatis spiritum dedit nobis Deus. His itaque dictis, Biblia Sacra illi in manus tradiderunt, hujusmodi verba ad eum habentes: In legendo hortando et docendo, vide diligens sis, atque ea meditare assidue, quæ in hisce libris scripta sunt. Noli in his segnis esse, quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innotescat, et palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te, et ad docendi munus spectant, diligenter. Hoc enim modo non teipsum solum, sed et reliquos auditores tuos per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum salvabis. Postquam hæc dixissent; ad reliqua communionis solemnia pergit Cicestriensis, nulum Archiepiscopo tradens pastorale baculum; cum quo communicabant unà Archiepiscopus et quatuor illi Episcopi supra nominati, cum aliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractisque sacris egreditur per borealem orientalis sacelli partis portam Archiepiscopus, quatuor illis comitatus Episcopis qui eum consecraverant, et confestim ipsis iisdem stipatus Episcopis per eandem revertitur portam, albo episcopali superpelliceo crimeraque (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus; circa collum vero collare quoddam ex pretiosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgo *Sables* vocant) consutum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cices-

trensis et Herefordiensis suis episcopalibus amictibus, superpelliceo scilicet, et crimerâ uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus verò et Bedfordiæ suffraganeus togis solummodò talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde occidentalem portam versus (AR. in *another hand*) Episcopus Thomæ Doyle economo, Johanni Baker thesaurario, et Johanni Marche computo rotulario, singulis singulos albos dedit baculos: hoc scilicet modo eos muneribus et officiis suis ornans.

His itaque hunc ad modum, ordine suo ut jam ante dictum est peractis, per occidentalem portam sacellum egreditur Archiepiscopus, generosioribus quibusvis sanguine ex ejus familiâ eum præcedentibus, aliquibus verò à tergo eum sequentibus.

Acta gesta que hæc erant omnia in præsentia reverendorum in Christo patrum Edmundi Gryndall Londinensis Episcopi electi, Edwardi Cocks, Eliensis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorniensis electi, Antonii Huse armigeri principalis et primarii registrarii dicti Archiepiscopi, Thomæ Argall armigeri registrarii curiæ prærogativæ Cantuariensis, Thomæ Willet et Johannis Incent notariorum publicorum et aliorum quoque nonnullorum.

Now, let us see how this document reads in a

TRANSLATION.

"The Order of the Rites and Ceremonies observed in the consecration of the Most Reverend Lord, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the chapel within his manor of Lambeth, on Sunday, the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine.

"First of all, the chapel towards the east was adorned

with carpets, and the floor was covered with red cloth ; likewise a table, necessary for the performance of the service, adorned with carpet and a cushion, was situated east.

“Four chairs also for the four bishops, to whom was assigned the office of consecrating the archbishop, were placed towards the south of the east part of the chapel.

“Also a bench, covered with carpet and cushions, on which the bishops when they knelt might lean, was placed before the chairs.

“In like manner a chair and a bench, adorned with a carpet and cushion, were placed for the archbishop at the north side of the east part of the same chapel.

“These things being thus arranged in their order, in the morning about five or six o'clock, the archbishop enters the chapel by the west door, arrayed in a scarlet cassock and capuce, preceded by four torches, and accompanied by the four bishops who were to serve at his consecration, viz. William Barloe, formerly Bishop of Bath and Wells, now elect of Chichester ; John Scory, formerly Bishop of Chichester, now elect of Hereford ; Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter ; and John, Suffragan of Bedford. After all of these had occupied the seats prepared for them, each one in his order, morning prayers were immediately recited in a clear voice by Andrew Peerson, the archbishop's chaplain, at the end of which, John Scory, of whom we have spoken above, ascended the pulpit, and taking for his text ‘The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder’, he preached not inelegantly.

“The sermon ended, the archbishop and the four bishops leave the chapel, to prepare themselves for holy

communion; then, without delay, immediately they return by the north door, dressed in this manner: the archbishop was dressed in a linen surplice, as it is called; the Elect of Chichester used a silk cope, being prepared to perform the service, to whom did minister and afford their assistance two chaplains of the archbishop, viz., Nicholas Bullingham and Edmund Gest, archdeacons of Lincoln and Canterbury respectively, likewise arrayed in silk copes; the Elect of Hereford and the Suffragan of Bedford were clothed in linen surplices.

“But Miles Coverdale used only a long woollen gown.

“And being thus arrayed and arranged they proceeded to celebrate communion, the archbishop sitting on bended knees at the lowest step of the chapel.

“The Gospel at length finished, the Elect of Hereford, the Suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale (of whom above) conducted the archbishop before the Elect of Chichester, seated in a chair at the table, with these words: ‘Reverend Father in God, we offer and present to you this pious and learned man, that he may be consecrated archbishop;’ after they had said this, the royal diploma or mandate for the consecration of the archbishop was at once produced, which being read by Thomas Yale, Doctor of Laws, the oath of the royal supremacy, or of defending her supreme authority, according to the statutes enacted and promulgated in the first year of the reign of our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, was required of the said archbishop, which, when he had in a form of words solemnly taken, touching corporally the holy gospels, the Elect of Chichester, exhorting the people to prayer, disposed himself (*se accinxit*) to sing the litany, the choir responding. These things finished, after some questions

addressed to the archbishop by the Elect of Chichester, and after prayers and certain suffrages addressed to God, according to the form of a book put forth by the authority of Parliament, the (Elect) of Chichester and Hereford, the Suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale, placing their hands on the archbishop said, in the English tongue, thus : 'Take the hollie gost, and remember that thou stirre upp the grace of god which ys in the by Imposicon of handes, for god hath not giuen us the Spirite of feare, But of Power, and Love, and Sobernes.*' This being said, they put into his hands the Holy Bible, addressing him in words like these : 'Gyve hede unto thy readinge, exhortacon, and Doctrine; thinke uppon thes thinges, conteyned in thys Booke, be diligent in them that the increase comminge therbye may be manifest unto all men; Take hede unto thy self, and unto thy Teachinge, and be diligent in Doinge them, for by doinge thys thou shalt saue thy self and them that hear thee, through Jesus Xpe. our Lord.' After they had said these things, he of Chichester proceeds, with the rest of the communion service, without delivering any pastoral staff to the archbishop, with whom the archbishop, and the four bishops above named, with some others, partook of the Communion.

"The service being finished and completed, the archbishop makes his exit by the north door of the east part

* The Cambridge copy of the rituum ordo—that which is given above—gives this passage in Latin. The Lambeth copy, which I am now translating, gives it in English. I reproduce it from the register exactly—*literatim et verbatim*. By translating the Lambeth version instead of the Cambridge, I enable the reader to detect the variations of the two. The Lambeth original is given in the Appendix, No. 1.

of the chapel, accompanied by the four bishops who had consecrated him ; and immediately, surrounded by the same bishops, he returns by the same door, arrayed in a white episcopal surplice, and crimera (as they call it) made of black silk ; but round his neck he wore a certain collar made of precious sabelline furs (commonly called sables). In like manner he of Chichester and he of Hereford were each of them clad in their episcopal garments, a surplice, and crimera. But Coverdale and the Suffragan of Bedford wore only long gowns. Then the archbishop going towards the west door, delivered to Thomas Doyle, the steward, to John Baker, the treasurer, and John March, comptroller, to each a white wand, in this manner giving them the insignia (ornans) of their several charges and offices.

“These things being in this manner and in their due order completed (as was before said), the archbishop goes out of the chapel by the west door, the more noble members of his family, related by blood, preceding him, the rest following him behind.

“All and each of these things were done and performed in the presence of the Reverend Fathers in Christ Edmund Grindall, Bishop elect of London ; of Richard Coökes, elect of Ely ; of Edwin Sandes, elect of Worcester ; of Anthony Huse, Esquire, the principal and head registrar of the said archbishop ; of Thomas Argall, Esquire, Registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury ; of Thomas Willett and John Incent, notaries public, and some others.”

Now, believing as I do that this is a forged document, I cannot treat it with respect. Remember, it purports to be an ecclesiastical, an official record of a very solemn and important act,—nothing less than the consecration

of a metropolitan who was to be the inaugurator of a national hierarchy,—a consecration which, *à priori*, considering the circumstances, the time, the epoch, the principles, the actors ; the fact, that were it not for Elizabeth herself, all forms and ceremonies, even the simple surplice itself, would have been abolished, as I shall afterwards show, we should have expected to be devoid of ceremony and superfluous ornament, and its record most simple. Instead of this, I ask, was there ever such a record of an episcopal consecration ? Can it be matched, even were you to ransack the episcopal archives of the whole world ? Why, a very large portion is occupied with sheer puerilities ! Let us analyse it. Tapestry here, red baize there ; a table with a carpet and cushion in one place, a bench with carpet and cushion in another ; four chairs in one spot,—one chair, with a bench, carpet, and cushion in another. A retired naval captain must surely have written it, so precise a reference being made to all the points of the compass. Tapestry is E. ; a table ditto. Four chairs, S. by E. ; chair and bench, N.E. Then the archbishop sails in, with his whole convoy, due W. : he goes out, and then comes in due N. The next time he leaves is by N.E., returning by the same, and at length makes his final exit W., after a rather intricate voyage. Then the dresses ! Parker enters arrayed in a scarlet cassock and hood,—rather Popish !—after this he is in a linen surplice : Barlow with a silk cope ; chaplains the same ; Scory and Hodgkins in linen surplices ; and old Miles Coverdale in a woollen gown. This was the array for the communion, the archbishop “sitting with bended knees” at the bottom step,—a comfortable position ! After this, Parker appears with a rochet and black silk *crimera* (I cannot find this word either in Du Cange

or Carpentier, so I give it up ; but I suppose it is a mozzetta), and a collar of "precious fur called sables ;" Barlow and Scory, rochet and crimera ; Coverdale and Hodgkins, simply a cassock ; and, take notice, all this between five and six on a midwinter's morning (Dec. 17), two or three hours before daylight ! There was a congregation, too, for there was a sermon "ad populum."

Now, I ask seriously, what was the occasion on which these frivolous matters are recorded ? It was the founding a hierarchy ! Can any one believe it ? Can you fancy the archbishop's secretary sitting down to perpetuate, in an official archive, *niaiseries* like these, and *omitting* things of much greater consequence ; ex. gr., the questions of Barlow and the answers of Parker, a conspicuous portion of the Ordinal of Edward VI, but here despatched in three words, "post questiones aliquot ?" Really ; can even one of your readers digest this ? If he can, he has indeed a strong appetite, and the peptic power of an ostrich, for truly this is what our neighbours call a *pièce de résistance*. "Credat Judæus Apella, non ego." No, no. The cloven foot peeps out.

It bears intrinsic evidence of being concocted for a purpose ; or in modern parlance, "cooked." The seasoning is the "lie with circumstance." The scribe thought to himself, "People will say, 'Oh, it must be true, it is so circumstantial.'" But the thing is overdone ; the dish is overspiced ; it is too hot to be swallowed : "*faucibus hæsit.*"

The exterior appearance of this register, I doubt not, is cleverly managed, for they were great adepts in those days ; just as at the present day a forged banknote deceives the whole world, except the initiated of Thread-needle Street ; and a counterfeit ancient coin can be so

naturally abraded, and tinged with the green oxide of copper as to deceive the connoisseur. In fact, this last was another branch of systematic forgery, prevalent in the days of Benvenuto Cellini, and consequently contemporaneous with the period I am speaking of.

I could point out other grounds of suspicion suggested by the document itself. For instance, the assistant bishops are called consecrators,—“*qui eum consecraverant.*” The Ordinal of Edward VI calls them merely, if I remember rightly, “the other bishops present.” A sly purpose lurks under this alteration. The writer foresaw that Barlow's episcopacy would be questioned, so he embodies an answer to this, by attributing the consecrating act to all. This indicates a later phase of this controversy, and would show, I think, that the thing was concocted about the period of its first production by Mason in 1613. Then it mentions Parker's relatives in high life,—“*generosioribus quibusvis sanguine ex ejus familia.*” Now Parker's family was a very humble one; himself being the son of a poor honest worker in worsted at Norwich. On this point, indeed, the authority of the short life of Parker, translated from the “*Historiola*” of the Masters of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by a Puritan who evidently knew Parker well, is quite conclusive. In the translated text we read “he was born of honest parents citizens”. To this the translator has appended a marginal note, which I copy from the rare book itself, *literatim et verbatim*—“His father was an honest poore man, a scourer or calender of worsteddes of Norwich, so knowne and taken.” This was printed in 1574, during Parker's life.

Let us now proceed to external evidence. Many arguments drawn from this source are very strong, and

cumulatively produce a demonstration well nigh irresistible. I shall omit several, and pass cursorily over others, for the sake of advancing and developing in a prominent manner one particularly decisive proof.

It is utterly inconceivable that the register, if genuine, should not have seen the light for fifty years. The alleged consecration took place in 1559, and the register was produced by Mason in 1613. During the interval, our Catholic divines, Harding, Sanders, Stapleton, Bristow, and others, repeatedly challenged the Protestant bishops to show their credentials, and particularly the testimonials of consecration of their metropolitan, Parker. Again and again they asserted, not merely that they were not validly consecrated, but that they were not consecrated in any way, and that they were simply bishops by royal authority; and after the Act of 8th Eliz., that they were bishops by Act of Parliament. Harding, especially, taunted Jewel with this want of consecration, and defied him to prove it; Jewel, on his part, returned evasive answers. Now, a reference to this document at once would have been the answer of Jewel, were the thing in existence. This would have settled the question as to *some* kind of consecration, at least, however invalid in the eyes of Harding, and would have shifted the ground of objection. Moreover, if the Lambeth affair was a fact, it must have been publicly known; there was a congregation present; there must have been a number of persons, for twenty years at least, subsequently, who could have attested the consecration and silenced the objections of Harding. But neither dead letter nor living voice gave testimony of the consecration at Lambeth.

It is also positively inconceivable that Stow, in his *Chronicles*, should not have recorded it. He was inti-

mate with Parker, and, in a special manner, his *protégé*. He records the death of Parker in 1575, and occupies a disproportionate space in transcribing his Latin epitaph, and enumerating his various legacies; and though he had recorded the consecration of Parker's predecessor, Cardinal Pole, in 1556, not one word does he say of the consecration, and, if a fact, from the peculiar circumstances, the ever memorable consecration of his patron and friend.

Godwin, too, in his first edition (English) in 1601, omits all allusion to the Lambeth register; but in his next edition (Latin) in 1615, he avails himself of its alleged facts. And why? Because two years before, in 1613, Mason had announced its existence.

The Register states that the Ordinal of Edward VI. was followed on the occasion; but I will here observe that the Ordinal was not legal at that period, and the actual state of things being unsettled at the close of 1559, I do not think that the Protestant party was prepared to disregard the want of legality. The Act of 1st Eliz. restored the Common Prayer only, not the Ordinal; that was restored by the 8th Eliz. The Act of 1st Eliz. uses the word "only," in reference to the Book of Common Prayer; and although the Ordinal was annexed to it, it was still distinct, and was considered as distinct by the Parliament when legislating on the subject in the early part of 1559. This is clear from the debates. In Strype's *Annals* of Elizabeth, we have two speeches given in the Appendix at full length; those of Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, and of Scot, Bishop of Chester. They are called speeches on the Liturgy, and they are wholly occupied in discussing the Liturgy, there not being one word about the Ordinal, which un-

doubtedly would have been the case had its restoration formed part of the Bill ; for the Catholic Bishops were opposed to the Ordinal even more, if possible, than to the Common Prayer.

Elizabeth, too, evidently intended the Catholic form of consecration to be used. This appears from the names on the first Commission—Tunstall of Durham, Poole of Peterborough, and Bourne of Bath. These never would have used a Protestant rite. There was also Kitchin of Llandaff, who of course would do the same as the three named ; for, though a weak man, he was, as Godwin says, “*doctrinæ Pontificiæ addictissimus*.” These Prelates objected to consecrate Parker, as being a married man and infected with heresy, though Elizabeth seems to have reserved them for the very purpose of this consecration. Most of the other Bishops had been already deprived, for refusing the Oath of Supremacy : from Tunstall, Bourne, and Poole, however, this test of subseriency had been hitherto withheld. On refusing to consecrate Parker, the oath was tendered to them, and their refusal entailed the necessary consequence—deprivation. It is a curious fact, which I note after Erastus Senior, that although the 8th Elizabeth restored the Ordinal, it did not repeal the Catholic form. Consequently, they co-exist, and both are law ; for it is a maxim, I believe, in English jurisprudence, that no law is repealed by *implication*, but it must be in express terms abolished. Unless, therefore, during the late revisions of the statutes, the Catholic form has been removed,—were Dr. Philpotts, for instance, to ordain his clergy with unction, and the other ceremonies of the pontifical, though he would, no doubt, excite a tremendous commotion, and though what *he* would do would be

in Catholic eyes invalid, yet, in the case supposed, he would be *en règle* and acting according to an Act of Parliament of Henry VIII., the Church of England being, as was said in the House, itself "but a clause in an Act of Parliament."

Elizabeth, like her father, was highly tenacious of her royal supremacy; but had she not fallen into the hands of Cecil and the Reformers of the Low school, I believe she would have been far less Protestant than circumstances subsequently made her. At the time we are now speaking of, she disapproved of the substitution of tables for altars (see Strype); she was by no means a Sacramentarian as regards the eucharist; she persisted in retaining a crucifix in her chamber; and as to the marriage of priests, she prevented the law of celibacy being repealed in her first Parliament: consequently, at the period we are speaking of, a married priest was living in violation of the law of the land. And that was the case of Parker. "But the Queen," says Strype (*Annals*, p. 81), "would not be brought so far to countenance the conjugal state of her clergy. This troubled not a little the divines, especially such as were married, as was Dr. Sandys and Dr. Parker, which, as Sandys says in a letter to Parker, is nothing else but to bastard our children. The clergy were fain to get their children legitimated. So, I find, did Parker his son Matthew."

From these facts we may, I think, presume that the Queen would not have countenanced, at that period, the premature use of a non-legal—nay, strictly speaking, an illegal—rite which the Register alleges to have been used.

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court, Purification of our B. Lady, 1858.

LETTER. V.

PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

SIR,—Before proceeding, I wish to correct my unduly moderate representation of the force of my position as expressed in the opening of my last letter ; describing as greatly preponderating probabilities, what I must describe, after the proof I am now about to develope, as culminating in a demonstration.

This crowning proof is elicited from a comparison of documents in Rymer's "Foedera." Rymer is always careful in recording the kind of authentication which is appended to each instrument which he publishes, whether it be a seal, or a signature, or otherwise. If it have *no* authentication, he gives it as he finds it among the public records. It may or it may not be genuine. If there be no grounds for suspicion, and no incompatibility with another duly attested document, it may, I think, be generally considered as true ; but even so, it would have no weight in a court of justice. Now, among the Royal Mandates, Royal Letters Patent, etc., there are three modes of authentication. Some are sealed with the Great Seal, and the conclusion in Rymer is, "*Sub Magno Sigillo Angliæ.*" Others are authenticated by a warrant under the Privy Seal, concluding thus : *Teste Rege or Regina, etc., Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.* The words

Teste Rege or Regina, etc., are a common formula for all such documents, and, unless followed by a seal or signature, or some undoubted mark of authenticity, are of no force, no more than the words "your obedient servant" in a private letter without the signature following. Others, in fine, have the attestation of the Sovereign herself, and conclude thus: Teste Regina, etc., *Per ipsam Reginam*. All such documents are considered authentic, But there are others—and they are numerous in the reign of Elizabeth, particularly in episcopal affairs—which bear no authentication at all. Such must rest on their own merits.

This premised, let us examine the documents bearing upon the present question. The first, or what is called the first Royal Mandate for consecrating Parker, is dated September 9, 1559, and is addressed, "Reverendis in Christo Patribus, Cuthberto Episcopo Dunelmensi (Tunstall), Gilberto Bathoniensi Episcopo (Bourne), David Episcopo Burgi Sancti Petri (Poole), Antonio Llandavensi Episcopo (Kitchin), Willielmo Barlo Episcopo, et Joanni Scory Episcopo—Salutem."* It commands them to consecrate Matthew Parker for the See of Canterbury. What is the authentication? Teste Regina, etc., *Per Breve de Privato Sigillo*. (Rymer, xv., 541.) It therefore is all in proper form. The other mandate is dated December 6, 1559, and is that under which Parker is alleged to have been consecrated. It is addressed—to Kitchin of Llandaff; to William Barlow, formerly Bishop of Bath, now Elect of Chichester; to John Scory, formerly Bishop of Chichester, now Bishop of Hereford; to Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter; to Richard

* The document is given entire in the Appendix, No. 2.

of Bedford, and John of Thetford, Suffragan Bishops; and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory.* It commands them to consecrate Parker, and contains two remarkable irregularities:—1. Misnaming Hodgkins of Bedford, calling him Richard instead of John, which alone, I apprehend, would nullify at least *his* power to act; and he *did* act as one of the four Bishops required by the Commission as a necessary quorum at the alleged consecration. 2. It contains an extraordinary clause supplying all defects that there may be in the persons commissioned, etc., or in anything whatever, by the supreme royal authority. And what is the authentication? *None!* Being a document precisely analogous to the other, it ought, like that, to be fortified with the Privy Seal. But there is no seal nor signature. (Rymer, xv., 549).

But this is not all; by no means all. There is another intermediate document, authentic and most important in the present controversy, and which lets in the daylight completely. (Rymer, xv., 546.) It is a royal commission, dated October 20, 1559,—mark well the date,—empowering certain persons to administer the oath of supremacy, and bears the stamp of authenticity *Per ipsam Reginam*.† To whom is it addressed? To Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury! “Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Mattheo Cantauriensi Archiepiscopo, ac Reverendis in Christo Patribus Edmundo Londoniensi Episcopo (Grindall), Richardo Eliensi Episcopo (Cox).” He is here styled by the Queen absolutely Archbishop of Canterbury, in a legal and authentic deed conferring certain powers, which powers he could not validly exercise were he not in law what he is described to be. Now, after that, how could the Queen commission others

* See Appendix, No. 3.

† See Appendix, No. 4.

to *make* him Archbishop of Canterbury? Let these three documents be taken into a court of justice—the Mandate of September 9 and the Royal Commission of October 20 *versus* the unauthenticated Mandate of December 6. The latter would be “out of court” in five minutes! It has been foisted into the public records; and the extracts I have given in my last letter from Whitaker and James L., and the motive which can be easily supposed, render this perfectly credible. For two reasons, therefore—1st, its want of authentication; 2nd, its absolute incompatibility with the authentic commission of October 20,—I maintain that the mandate addressed to Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, under which Parker is alleged to have been consecrated, is itself a *forgery*: consequently, the Lambeth consecration is a myth, and Parker's register a romance! If any one answers these letters, unless he demolishes this argument, he does nothing.

If it be asked, then, how and when was Parker consecrated? I reply, it is not for me to say: the *onus probandi* is on the other side. If I may venture an opinion, I am inclined to think that Elizabeth, foiled in her attempt to procure his consecration by her mandate to Tunstall and the others, and unwilling to stoop to an undignified repetition of a similar proceeding, supplied all defects by the *sic volo sic jubeo* of her royal supremacy. This, indeed, is what our divines during her reign continually asserted—namely, that they were bishops by royal authority, and then, by the 8th Eliz., was super-added the authority of Parliament; for the meaning of that Act—its concentrated extract—is this:—“To put an end to disputes, be they bishops or no bishops, we by our authority declare them to be bishops, and supply all

defects." At all events, if Parker was consecrated, it clearly must have been between September 9 and October 20.

I cannot here omit alluding again to the opinion of my friend Dr. Lingard, from whom I differ on this point—

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri."

The "*magis amica Veritas*" claims our homage, and her suggestions must prevail over the regard and admiration with which I honour the memory of so distinguished an historian and so bright an ornament of the Church in this country. Our Anglican friends bring forward Dr. Lingard's authority so prominently, and draw inferences so unwarrantable from his opinions on matters of fact, that it is really necessary in the present state of the question, to allude to them. I will say, then, that to *all* his reasons for establishing the fact of Parker's consecration at Lambeth, December 17, 1559, satisfactory replies can be given; in fact, are actually given in these letters: and what really excites my surprise in his mode of treating this point is, that he has entirely *overlooked* the royal commission to Parker of October 20, above commented on!! He also fails in his usual acuteness by not noticing the defect of authentication in the mandate of December 6, and in *all* the six writs of December 18, to which he alludes, and which I now have before me. Neither is there any force in the argument drawn from the latter date, as I have shown that Parker could not have been consecrated at Lambeth on December 17. He regards, too, the trivial minutiae of the register as corroborative proof; whereas I have strongly urged that very point (I think with a show of reason) as a strong ground for suspicion. His last observation does

astonish me—"that there exists not the semblance of a reason for pronouncing it a forgery." I leave it now to your readers to judge whether a "semblance" exists or not.

But now, my Anglican friends, I will for a moment suppose that all these doubts are unfounded, and these arguments futile; and that you really have, through Parker, inherited sacerdotal power from Barlow; that you are, in fact, the spiritual children of Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale! Is there so great reason to parade your descent? Just behold, with your mind's eye, the assembled trio in Lambeth Chapel. Who are they? All three, apostate Regulars! I believe you have some regard for the Monastic Orders, and I am sure you will consider the violation of a solemn vow made to the living God as a sacrilege. Then remember that a religious takes *three* such solemn vows. Behold them then! Barlow, the Augustinian, at the head of them, with his five daughters! Since Christianity dawned on this earth, was there ever such a set appointed to found a national Hierarchy? Such a lot, the very sweepings of the Episcopate! Parker, too, though the best of the set, was, by living openly in the conjugal state, violating, as we have seen in my last letter, the law of the land, to say nothing of that of the Church. And are these your fathers in the faith? These the sires that begot you? Are these the Pauls that "brought you forth in"—but I will not write the sacred name in connection with such men.

However, after all, even that is not your true pedigree. It is not your true inheritance. The entail was cut off at the close of Mary's reign, and you remain spiritual Lack-lands, without a patrimony in the land of Israel. We

Catholics never think of sacerdotal power as associated with a Protestant clergyman. If I may give the conception of my own mind when I think of him, it is this—a real gentleman, always respectable, often very amiable, not unfrequently very learned—still, only a gentleman, in sable garments and a spotless necktie.

And really, I would ask my Anglican brethren themselves, Do they, in *their inmost heart*, know themselves and feel themselves to be priests? Are they deeply impressed, in humble thanksgiving to our Lord, with the belief that a stupendous dignity has been interwoven with their existence, by being made the immediate instruments of the High Priest according to the order of Melchisedech? I will test their conviction by placing them in two situations: one very ordinary, the other very solemn. Suppose a Protestant clergyman passing in the street through a crowd of boys at play; they cry out, "There goes the priest!" I ask, would he not be *amazed* at being taken for the priest? Would he not be inclined to tell the urchins that they had made a mistake, expecting, as he certainly would, that their next cry would be, "No Popery!" If it be said I make not the needful distinction between Protestant and Anglican, and that the latter would not disown the priestly character; I reply that they have both the same so-called orders. But I will test the *real Anglican* by his intimate conviction on the solemn occasion I spoke of. I mean the celebration of the divine eucharist. Does the Anglican in his *inmost heart* believe that he can and does consecrate the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ? Does he really intend, though it be contrary to the intention of the framers of the communion service, to offer

the Immaculate Lamb in an unbloody sacrifice? Does he believe that when he—yes, he, the Anglican—pronounces the thrice holy words of our Lord, “This is my body,” at that moment “The heavens rain down the Just One”; that adoring angels, as St. John Chrysostom says, surround both priest and altar, and that there before him lies veiled the splendour of eternity, “*amictus lumine sicut vestimento*”? If he believe the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or the Real Presence, and that he himself is a priest, he must believe in all these sublime consequences. But does he? No; neither in theory nor practice. He has not the interior testimony of the priesthood.

But a Catholic priest believes all this. He knows himself to be a priest. He knows and intimately feels that there is an everlasting character stamped on his soul. This, then, is one of the distinctive differences between the effects of Catholic and Anglican ordination. And here, for the present, I leave my Anglican friends to their meditations, and to the grace of Jesus Christ, “*qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire.*”

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court, Shrove-Tuesday, 1858.

LETTER VI.

PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

SIR,—Will no Unionist deign to notice my letters on Anglican Orders which have appeared in your columns, and to take up the gauntlet which I have thrown down? Will no high churchman—for it equally concerns him—meet the arguments I have advanced; not nibbling at the minor fragments, but grappling with the whole case as I have proposed it? Will *you* not, Dr. Pusey, “*nam tua res agitur*”; will *you* not, Mr. Keble, or any one of the respectable section to which you belong, enter the arena, and try to disarm me? May I not ask, with a slight adaptation of Juvenal, but in a contrary sense,—

*Semper ego aggressor tantum; nunquamne repones
Argutus toties?*

This is to you a most important and a most serious question,—a question of sacrilegious usurpation, with all its consequences. You cannot pooh-pooh it. You cannot, ostrich-like, place your heads in a fissure of your ruinous and crumbling house, and because you *will* not see the coming ruin, deny its existence. If my arguments are solidly founded, you are dwelling in an edifice which has for its foundation a huge imposture,—at the very best, not solid stone, but the rubble of doubt and uncertainty. Your alternative is clear. As honest men,

as I believe you to be, you must either join the army of Rome, or fall back into the rank and file of non-believers in apostolical succession. There is, to be sure, a forlorn hope. You might, like Dr. Morton, adopt the Nag's Head title as a *pis aller*. But that, I presume, you would never resort to.

And yet, I am not surprised that I have encountered no antagonist, and that judgment is suffered to go by default. The case, on the whole, is unanswerable. The triple cord is unbreakable. The three-bastioned fort I have occupied is inexpugnable. You may possibly displace a few stones in the assault; but take it, and demolish it, you cannot. There is the ordination bastion, you cannot take that; there is the Barlow bastion, you cannot take that; there is the Parker bastion, that you cannot take. And then, remember, before you can cry "Io triumphe," you must take all three.

I must say, however, that I should have liked to hear an answer to the disproof in my last letter, as to the fact of Parker's consecration, derived from "Rymer's *Fœdera*." I have proved a double forgery. The all-important Royal Commission of October 20, addressed "Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, Matthæo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo," and attested "Per ipsam Reginam," affords an irrefragable argument. Under its weight, the argument from the letters patent to Kitchin, Barlow, etc., for Parker's consecration, dated Dec. 6, and moreover unauthenticated, unsealed, unattested, breaks down and is crushed; and, by consequence, the register is involved in the catastrophe.

Now, who was Rymer? What is the authority of his most important work? Rymer was the "Royal Historiographer," having full access to all documents preserved

in the public archives, and authorised and even commissioned to publish them. What he publishes may be considered as authentic as the originals themselves. There is not the slightest reason to distrust his fidelity in transcribing, as there is with Burnet, even in his "Collection of Records." If Rymer could be distrusted, it would be by Catholics; for that he was an ultra-Protestant is evident from his dedications to the sovereign prefixed to each volume. But he is even on that point, I believe, perfectly trustworthy; so that in matters which tell against the Protestant cause he is beyond all cavil.

— si præmia falsi

Nulla, ratam debet testis habere fidem.

He gives the document of December 6 as he finds it; incompatible as it is with that of October 20, unsealed also, and unattested. Had there once been a seal, though now wanting, he would have written "Sigillo avulso," as he does in similar instances.

Apropos of Burnet, that reckless writer,—to use no harsher epithet,—on this very question of Parker's consecration, I detected, on a rapid perusal, three misstatements within the compass of a folio page. 1. He says, the first commission to Tunstall and others passed the Great Seal;—it has the Privy Seal only. 2. He says, the commission to Barlow passed the Great Seal also;—it has no seal whatever, and is, moreover, a forgery. 3. He says, the See of Durham was not filled up by appointment of Pilkington until 1561, because it was hoped that Tunstall would conform and take the oath of supremacy, and therefore the Queen waited. Tunstall died in November, 1559! He died in Lambeth Palace, in the custody of Parker, a month before the alleged Lambeth con-

secration. This, by the way, is an awkward fact for Anglicans. The occupation of the palace indicated the possession of the temporalities of the See. This, as a general rule, did not precede consecration. Whenever there was an exception, a cause can be assigned for the fact.

I am aware that even some Catholics of the present day are slow to disbelieve the fact of the Lambeth consecration, and the truth of the register. I say, Catholics of the present day; because the Catholics of past days universally doubted it. And whence this change? I believe it originates in deference to the authority of Dr. Lingard. Now, it is as really painful for me, as it is apparently presumptuous, to question the authority of one who stands so high, and one who reflects such lustre on my own college. But I do question it: I emphatically question and oppose it. On this point he is opposed to all the old Catholic writers. And what is his authority?—Rymer, and he could not have a better. But he has made a sad oversight in quoting Rymer. Rymer, too, is *my* authority, and therefore I am on a level with Dr. L. Well, then, Dr. Lingard has most unaccountably ignored the commission of October 20, and disregarded all tests of authenticity. Of course, for a Catholic, this disproof of Parker's consecration is not necessary for a disbelief in the validity of Anglican Orders. It is a question, however, of great weight with our Anglican brethren; and if we *can* disprove it, a great point is gained. Dr. Lingard's opinion, I must openly say it, has done considerable mischief; for in this controversy about Anglican Orders, our friends are sure to play his letter to the Catholic Magazine as a trump card.

I have many other facts and observations bearing on this question, which I propose to send you in future letters.

This is the feast of one of the lights of Canterbury, a light which cast its rays over the whole church. It is that of St. Anselm, Doctor of the Church. How glorious a See was that in days of yore! There have been not less than eighteen archbishops with "Saint" as a prefix to their name: a constellation of eighteen stars in that one portion of the English ecclesiastical firmament! where at length appeared a "falling star," a meteoric evanescent *semblance* of a star,—Matthew Parker, so-called Archbishop of Canterbury. May the glorious St. Anselm, St. Augustine, St. Thomas, St. Edmund, and the rest of the sainted band, shed the light of truth on our Anglican brethren, and show them that they have no link of Orders connecting them with the chain of the apostolical hierarchy!

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court: St. Anselm, Doctor of the Church,
Archbishop of Canterbury, 1858.

LETTER VII.

PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

SIR,—What possible answer can Anglicans make to the disproof of the commission of December 6, 1559, and of the Lambeth Consecration of December 17, which is derived from the Queen's Commission to "Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury," of October 20? The only way of eluding or attempting to elude its crushing force, is to say that she meant Archbishop "Elect." Now, no one could advance such a plea but in sheer desperation. No one could urge such a reply but with bad faith, for his conscience would admonish him of its hollowness. No one, with but a common knowledge of law and government, would be ignorant that such a principle of interpretation, and such a way of treating a royal act, conferring powers, would tend to mystify, to deprive of all definite force, and even to nullify, all legal instruments and acts of authority.

In this document she proclaims him archbishop absolutely, and repeats the same style and title not less than *four* times; always requiring him, as archbishop, to be present whenever the commission acts. The whole of the document, in juxtaposition with the commission of December 6, is to be found in the appendix. Your readers will there see that it would be absurd in the

highest degree to suppose that Elizabeth would stultify her own act, and afterwards style him simply "Magistrum Mattheum Parker, Sacræ Theologiæ Professorem;" the words of the supposititious commission of December 6—the alleged authority for the alleged Lambeth Consecration. Really, were there no other proof—were all the other conclusive arguments kept out of sight, this alone would be overwhelming.

Was, then, Parker consecrated in any other way, or at any other time? Of course, Anglicans cannot admit this. They cannot admit consistently another solution. They stand upon Lambeth, and Lambeth fails them. The real issue, then, is this—"pace tuâ dixerim"—the "Nag's Head"—or nothing. *Utrum horum mavis accipe*. In my letter of July 25 of the past year I consented to consider the Nag's Head affair as fabulous, because it was not necessary for my argument. I will observe, however, in passing, that much more may be said for it than our friends imagine. For the present, I adopt the latter part of the alternative—the "nothing"—Parker was not consecrated at all.

To assent to this, a great effort of the mind is not required, when the circumstances, the times, and the prevailing ideas among reformers respecting episcopal ordination are considered. There is nothing to prevent our acquiescence either on the part of the Queen, or the Parliament, or the Protestant reformers.

First, as to the Queen. She no doubt desired a consecration; but observe, a Catholic consecration: as she had desired and received for herself a Catholic coronation. Apparently for this reason—for no other can be assigned—she refrained from pressing the oath of supremacy upon

the Catholic bishops of Durham, Bath, and Peterborough (Tunstall, Bourne, and Poole), while the other bishops had been deprived for refusing it. Tunstall and the others were reserved for the consecration. Her tendencies, in this early part of her reign, were in many respects on the side of Catholic observances. Naturally, she inclined rather to her father's enactments, than to those of her half-brother Edward. She disliked the marriage of the clergy. She disapproved the substitution of tables for altars. And I infer from this, and from her acts, that she disliked the Ordinal, which in fact bore the same kind of analogy to the pontifical as the table to the altar. The Ordinal was not at that time restored, nor included in the act of uniformity, as I have before shown. Elizabeth's commission to Tunstall and others for the consecration of Parker is an additional proof of this. By appointing them, she intended the adoption of the Catholic rite, and she knew right well that they would employ no other. If the Ordinal was law, and she preferred it, why not at once choose those who, only, would consent to use it—viz., Barlow etc.? How can we suppose her, first to issue a commission for doing a thing according to the pontifical, and then another commission for doing the same thing according to a totally different form?

What, then, was the fact? Being baffled by the refusal of Tunstall and the others to act, and indignant at her royal will being resisted, she exercised her royal prerogative, as supreme head and fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; she dispensed with the rites and ceremonies of consecration, and proclaimed Parker, in a solemn act, Archbishop of Canterbury. The records in Rymer throw

a light on this view. The commission to Tunstall is dated September 9. The Queen waits the full time for its being carried out. At the date of October 18, we find a document which unfolds a tale of royal displeasure. It is a commission, issued to four private individuals,—Humphrey Coles, John Horner, of Cloford, Richard Warre, and William Hallye,—empowering them to tender the oath of supremacy to Gilbert (Bourne), Bishop of Bath and Wells. (Rymer, xv. 545.) This indignity offered to a bishop and spiritual peer was indicative of the Queen's displeasure, and the term of her expectation. Two days after this, October 20, comes forth the commission already commented on, proclaiming Parker Archbishop of Canterbury!

The Parliament also, 1st Elizabeth, authorised the omission of the ceremonies of consecration, as I now proceed to show. In Strype's *Annals* of Elizabeth, page 67, ed. 1709, we read—"March 21. A Bill was now read a second time, that the Queen shall collate or appoint bishops in bishoprics being vacant, and *that without rites and ceremonies* (used, I suppose, in Popish ordinations), and ordered to be engrossed. And the next day the Bill was read a third time and passed the House, and sent to the Lords." The words in parenthesis are Strype's, and are evidently opposed to the plain import of the words.

This Bill does not seem to have passed in that precise form; for I do not find it in the statutes at large. On referring, however, to the proceedings in the House of Lords as recorded in Strype, I find that the Bill was read at once a second and third time, March 23rd. "This Bill was also put into the Bill for the Supremacy." (*Annals*,

p. 59.) The forms of Parliamentary usage, we see, were less stringent in those days. In reading, therefore, the Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz., we have a commentary afforded us by the House of Commons, enabling us to interpret it. It would be too long to quote the whole of that part of the Act which bears on this point; a short extract must suffice. “. . . .and that such person so to be named, assigned, authorised, and appointed by your Highness, your heirs or successors, after the said letters patent to him made and delivered, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of this Act, and of the said letters patent, under your Highness, heirs, and successors, to exercise, use, and execute all the premises (that is, all spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction before mentioned) according to the tenor and effect of the said letters patent: any matter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.” And all this, I may add, without any rites and ceremonies, as we have seen from the Bill of the House of Commons, incorporated in the Act.

And now as to the general belief of the Protestants of that day as to the non-necessity of episcopal consecration, of which there is abundant demonstration. I say Protestants, for “Anglo-Catholics” and high churchmen were then nowhere: or at least they were “*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.” All that was high was Catholic; all the rest was low; with certain gradations of lowness, certainly; but still low.—But I reserve this and many other things for a future occasion.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court: St. Pius V, Pope, 1858.

LETTER VIII.

PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

SIR,—Are you or your readers tired of these letters on Anglican Orders? If so, you have only to give me a hint,—only to say *sat prata biberunt*, and I will shut the dam. But this I cannot suppose. The pertinence, the importance, the opportuneness, and I will say, the interest of the subject, would justify even a still greater encroachment on your space. And who would complain? Surely, not your Catholic readers. A sorry Catholic would he be who, though disinclined himself to read it, would not be glad to observe in your columns a demolition of Anglican claims by one who pretends to know something about the matter,—one who writes with no hesitation on any of the three points, not even on the apparently more debateable point of the Lambeth register and consecration; one, in fine, who has undertaken in these letters to demolish by repeated battery, *ariete crebro*, the edifice of an Anglican hierarchy, *de fond en comble*.

Points connected with the alleged consecration at Lambeth still remain to be discussed. I will first make a few desultory, but relevant observations on the subject, and then pursue the argument of my last letter.

It will naturally be supposed by those who have not

studied the question, that the defenders of the Lambeth consecration were contemporary with the event, and therefore could personally attest its truth. Observe, however, that they all belong to what I may term the post-Masonic period—commencing with 1613, the year in which Mason produced the register. From 1559 to 1613 there is a gap of 54 years. It is after this date that we have the great champions of the apostolical succession in the Anglican communion—Mason, Godwin (2nd edition), Bramhall, Earberry, Burnet, Le Courayer, Williams, and others. They all, of course, vaunt the Lambeth register as their credentials—as their passport *en règle*. And why not before? The thing was not concocted, or, if concocted, the pear was not ripe. All living witnesses, and all persons named in the document must be dead before the precious record can see the light. If the event had taken place, as recorded, and if that register were a *bond fide* contemporary document, the question of fact would have been settled years before. But really if a fact, no register could prove it so well as the notoriety of such a fact, so peculiar a fact, so important a fact—more peculiar and important by far than an ordinary consecration—so solemn and public a fact; witnessed, according to Bramhall, “by thousands.” Why, a doubt or a questioning of the fact by a contemporary would have been impossible; it would have argued downright insanity.

Let us apply the case to our own times. Dr. Tait, for example, was consecrated the other day Bishop of London. The fact is notorious; the whole world knows it: itself is more patent to this contemporary generation than the record which, no doubt, attests it in the episco-

pal archives. Who, during this generation, would ever think of disbelieving the fact of Dr. Tait's consecration, and requesting to see the register, to be convinced of the fact? Or if he requested it, how simple the process of closing his mouth!

But what was the case during the half century which preceded 1613? Challenges to produce their credentials were again and again addressed by Catholic divines to the Anglican Bishops. There was no response. In vain did Harding press Jewel, the standard-bearer, with some hard home thrusts, and that within a short period of the alleged event. The latter fenced and wriggled, not answering to the point. He said he was bishop by the election of the Chapter: then, "*We* are consecrated by the Archbishop and three other bishops"—mark, he would not say *I*. Of course, I freely admit that there was a ceremony of consecration, subsequently to this period. "But who laid hands on your archbishop?" says Harding. To that Jewel never replied. This suggests a most important remark, itself decisive of the fraud of the Lambeth register. If Barlow, assisted by Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkin, "laid hands" on the archbishop, what was to prevent Jewel from replying—"Why, Bishop Barlow, to be sure, one of Henry VIII's bishops!" If a fact, his name most assuredly must have been mentioned by one party or the other. For even if Jewel hesitated to say anything about Barlow, what was to prevent Harding, and Stapleton, and Bristow, who were cognizant of the real facts, from bringing his name forward, and denying or questioning his episcopal character? And yet that name is never mentioned by either Catholic or Protestant controvertists, during the

first controversies on this subject in Elizabeth's reign! He is mentioned historically as having had part in the affair, by the writer of the life of Parker in *De Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Britannicæ* to which the false date of 1572 is attached. But even if a true date, it came too late after the silence of the preceding period. It was only at the period of the production of the register, in James's reign, that the Barlow controversy arose. Is not this conclusive? Does it not prove that Barlow really had nothing to do with the business? Stapleton also charges them with assuming the episcopal office, "*sine ullâ impositione manuum*,"—"without any imposition of hands"—and merely by virtue of the Queen's letters patent. Now, supposing the notorious solemnisation in Lambeth Chapel, and the existence of a register of the same, the challenges in question were simply impossible. Harding and Stapleton were both highly distinguished divines, and quite *au courant* of all public affairs.

But if on the side of Jewel there was evasion, we have abundance of contemporary Protestant plain speaking in the opposite sense of rejecting Orders and Apostolical Succession. Whitaker, the Cambridge Professor, says, "*De ordinatione non laboramus*." Sutcliffe, "The Turk's Mufti is as good a bishop as the Pope. Antichrist cannot ordain; the Pope is Antichrist; therefore, he cannot ordain." Powell, "The Popish ordination is nothing else but mere profanation." And lastly, I quote the vile words of Fulke,—"*With all our heart we defy, abhor, detest, and spit at your stinking, greasy, Antichristian Orders.*"

We must never forget in this question that Parker is the one door through which all have entered. He is the

tige, the single stem on which all hang and grow. If that be cut, the whole plant falls to the ground and withers away; so that if Parker, in consecrating his suffragans, had, instead of Edward's Ordinal, even administered the rites of the Roman Pontifical, all would be absolutely null. His own defect invalidated every episcopal act.

I have already enlarged on the internal evidences of fraud in Parker's register. Some additional remarks to the same effect are here submitted. I was reading the other day, at the end of Bramhall's works (folio edition), the various documents composing it, as connected with his appointment. They are all printed in venerable black letter. This antique garb looks very imposing, and will itself, I dare say, command the assent of many readers, who will find it difficult to imagine a cheat to be masked by so old-fashioned a dress. And yet I detected in the exordium alone singular proofs of a forger's blunder. For instance: "Barlow nuper Bathon. et Wellen. Epum. nunc electum Licestren. Johannem Scory dudum Licestren. Epum., nunc electum Hereforden." You will see that in both instances Licestren. is put for Cicester. The paragraph concludes thus: "Anthonio Huse armigero tunc registrario primario dicti Revmi. Patris." Do your readers detect the cloven foot? "Ex pede Herculem," et diabolium. Here it is. First it is *nunc*; afterwards it is *tunc*. Yes, positively *nunc* and *tunc* are made to designate the same date! *Nunc* electum Licestren.: Anthonio Huse *tunc* registrario. *Tunc* is the right word, doubtless; for it was written long after the alleged event; but it slipped out unintentionally, the object being to represent it as written at the time. Now, listen to what Archbishop Wake says in a letter to Le Courayer: "You

may depend upon it that the whole entry of the acts of Matthew Parker's consecration, with all the instruments relating to it in my registers, are written in the same hand with the other acts of what passed during his archiepiscopate, and *all at the same time that they were done*!" Really, I might also dignify this detection of fraud by the philosopher's exclamation—*Eureka!**

I could point out other proofs. One of the documents, for instance, is a grant by Parker of the office of Proctors to his two domestic chaplains, whom he styles, "*Sacellanos familiares et domesticos.*" One he addresses by name,—Edward Leedes; but he leaves a blank for the other; he does not know the name of his domestic and familiar chaplain! Could this be written at the time, or near the time? The instrument concludes thus: "*In manerio nostro in Lambehith, Winton. Dioc.*" Lambeth Palace was *not* in the diocese of Winchester. It was exempt. It was "*jurisdictionis immediatæ,*" and was consequently in the diocese of Canterbury. The archbishop was not the subject of his suffragan; and no archbishop would ever, by act or word, especially in an official document, surrender the rights of his diocese.

There is a duplicate of the register of Parker's consecration in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which he belonged. This, to some people, is a corroboration of the fact. To my mind, it is in itself a ground of suspicion. It was perfectly unnecessary, as a record of so notorious an affair as it must have been. But this is just such a thing as a forger would devise. Do you think that a duplicate of Dr. Tait's consecration-register was despatched to Rugby, whence, I believe, he came?

* This important point is further developed in Letter XVII.

I will now resume the argument of my last letter. And first, I recall to your memory the proof I produced from Elizabeth's first Parliament, that she was authorized to make bishops by letters patent, "without rites and ceremonies,"—the very words of the House of Commons. It is here worthy of remark that Elizabeth, in her mandates for restitution of temporalities to a new bishop, invariably omits all reference to consecration. This is directly contrary to the custom of Henry VIII.

The mandates of Henry were to this effect :—Whereas such a Chapter of such a See has, by our permission first obtained, elected such a person ; and whereas the Archbishop of Canterbury has, by his letters to us, signified that he has consecrated that person, and invested him with episcopal insignia, we, by these presents, charge you, the escheator, to surrender the temporalities, etc. The mandates of Elizabeth are to this effect :—Whereas such a Chapter has elected, by our permission first obtained, such a person ; and whereas we have given our Royal assent, and have received his fealty due to us for the said Bishopric (*fidelitatem nobis debitam recepimus pro dicto Episcopatu*), we hereby restore the temporalities. I have examined all the acts of Elizabeth of this kind, and in not a single instance does she allude to consecration, in any way. What was the reason of this change of style ?

Probably it was, that Reformers at that conjuncture disbelieved the necessity of episcopal consecration, and the doctrine of Apostolical Succession. At all events, the prevalence of this disbelief was a fact, which I now proceed to speak of. The proofs of this are so patent and abundant, that I find myself, as our neighbours say,

embarrassed with riches. To spare your space, I will content myself with one or two salient points in evidence.

One is their complete fraternisation and *solidarité* with foreign Protestants, particularly those of the Genevan and Helvetian school; by whom episcopal dominion was entirely discarded, and among whom, in fact, most of the leading Protestants of Elizabeth's reign had spent their exile, and had been thereby more deeply inoculated with their principles.

The twenty-fourth of the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI (1552), and which is the twenty-third of the Thirty-nine (1562), and of course in force to this day, is clearly Presbyterian, and ignores the necessity of episcopal consecration. Burnet expounds it in this sense. He says that by common consent a company of Christians may appoint one of their own members to minister to them in holy things, and this is not condemned by the twenty-third Article; for we are sure, says he, "that not only those who penned the Articles, but the body of this Church, *for above half an age after*, did, notwithstanding these irregularities, acknowledge the foreign Churches, so constituted, to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church." (Burnet's *Exposition*, 257.) He says, "the Article leaves the matter open and at large, for *such accidents as had happened* and such as might still happen." Ominous words: significant allusion! Again, "Although their own Church (Anglican) had been less forced to go out of the beaten path than any other, yet they knew that *all things among themselves had not gone according to those rules that ought to be sacred in regular times*. Necessity has no law, and is a law of itself." To what can this allude, if not to the state of affairs after

the failure of Elizabeth's commission to Tunstall? On that occasion, the prevalent notion of which I am treating, joined with the queen's letter and the parliamentary sense of the Act of Supremacy, would entirely uphold Parker in acting at once as archbishop.

Then there is the twenty-fifth of the Thirty-nine Articles, which excludes Orders from the number of the Sacraments; "for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." Now, it appears to me that Anglicans, Anglo-Catholics, High Churchmen, Unionists, etc., must find that Article of their Church a tough morsel to digest. They contend that the rite of imposition of hands is necessary, and assuredly it is sacred and ordained of God; and yet they belong to a Church which solemnly denies it; aye, and they themselves are bound to subscribe to that denial. Anglicans, from my heart I pity you! However, as regards my present argument, this Article proves that episcopacy has, according to Protestants, no Divine appointment; consequently, is not essential. The same must consistently be said of the priesthood and the diaconate. Now, the men of that period really held these principles: the very framing of the Article demonstrates it. Consequently, they were not the men, if difficulties stood in their way, to insist on an episcopal consecration as indispensable; above all, they were not the men to record that rite (to them not essential) in a minute and extraordinary register, such as that at Lambeth. No; the Protestants of 1559 never, never—in *perpetuam rei memoriam*—made the position of a chair, the whereabouts of a bench, the comings in and goings out, according to all the points of the compass, of the performers in an unnecessary ceremony—a matter of history.

There is a curious illustration of this state of opinion, and of a progressive change to high church principles, derived from two facts. In 1610 (only three years before the production of the Lambeth register), James I. caused three ministers from Scotland to be ordained bishops by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester. The Bishop of Ely at first demurred, on the ground that they had not received the order of priesthood from a bishop. But Archbishop Bancroft overruled the objection, alleging that the ordination given by the priests "ought to be esteemed valid, for otherwise the greatest part of the reformed churches would be found to want ministers." They all acquiesced in his opinion, and the three ministers became bishops.

But in 1664 (observe, just two years after that self-condemning, suicidal change in the Ordinal, of which I spoke in my first letter), Charles II called four Presbyterian ministers to London, who, "after they were made sensible of the invalidity of their former ordinations, were first ordained deacons and priests, and afterwards were consecrated bishops by the Bishop of Winchester, assisted by two others." (Collier.)

But notwithstanding this change of practice, I contend that no Church-of-England-man, be he High or be he Low, be he Tractarian or Calvinistic, Puseyite or Shaftonian, can rigorously hold the necessity of episcopal consecration and apostolical succession; otherwise, he must exclude the great bulk of the Protestant world from the possession of the priesthood altogether, and of the holy sacraments. Catholics do this, but do our Anglican friends? I trow not. The highest exponent of Church-of-Englandism, Dr. Sumner, in 1851, the year of the

Exhibition, by admitting foreign clergymen to church ministrations, answered, No. But, you will say, Dr. Sumner is Low. He is, however, if you be true to your principles, your metropolitan by divine authority. Well, then, what say you to the University of Oxford? I will refer you to its corporate testimony, not of the present day exactly, but of a period as late as Queen Anne. In a letter to the pastors of Geneva, dated "Oxonii, prid. Id. Feb., A.D. 1706, in frequenti convocazione omnium Doctorum ac Magistrorum," we read, "Alienissimum est a nostrâ charitate Ecclesias illas reformatas . . . tanquam legitimis pastoribus, aut sacramentis ritè administratis penitus destitutas, rigidâ nimis censurâ damnare." "Oxford, Feb. 12, 1706, in a full assembly of all the Doctors and Masters of Arts:—it is most foreign to our charity to condemn, with too rigorous a censure, those Reformed Churches as being destitute of legitimate pastors, and of the sacraments duly administered." (*Annals of Queen Anne, Appendix*, p. 196.) Now if Oxford, in 1706, could thus solemnly assert the non-necessity of Episcopacy, for it amounts to this, can we wonder that the Gospellers of 1559, when in difficulties, attached no great importance to the ceremony of consecration?

And now, my Anglican friends, whether of the Pusey or the Tractarian school, I wish to put to you a special question. I said, at the close of my last letter, that at the accession of Elizabeth, all that was "High" was Roman Catholic. You speak of your dear Anglican Church as if you, in your own persons and principles, were the essential types thereof. I ask you, Who represented *you* at that period? For remember the order of things now existing, and by which you are ruled, was then mainly

established. I will array all the first bishops of Elizabeth before you, and beg you to point out one who professed your principles. There was Parker of Canterbury, Barlow of Chichester, Scory of Hereford, Grindal of London, Cox of Ely, Sandys of Worcester, Meyrick of Bangor, Younge of St. David, Bullingham of Lincoln, Jewel of Sarum, Davis of St. Asaph, Guest of Rochester, Berkeley of Bath, Bentham of Lichfield, Alley of Exon, Parkhurst of Norwich, Scambler of Peterborough, Horne of Winton, Cheney of Gloucester, with Bristol in *commendam*. In the province of York, May (died elect) Metropolitan, then Younge translated; Pilkington of Durham, Best of Carlisle, Downham of Chester. Now, how many of those held your principles? Was even one of them a prototype of yourselves? Point him out and say *he* was a genuine Anglican. *He* was for a sacrifice in the blessed eucharist. *He* was for an altar, and not a table. *He* was for the absolute necessity of apostolical succession. *He* was for a pure and non-Erastian church. *He* was for any, even the most remote respect for the Sovereign Pontiff. *He* was not a thorough hater of the Pope as a tyrannous usurper, aye, and as Antichrist. In fine, *he* was not a Protestant, but an "Anglo-Catholic." Point him out.

There *was* one among these who was something of a Lutheran, as to the real presence in the Divine Eucharist. This was Cheney, of Gloucester and Bristol, who, I presume, was chosen on the strength of his prominent opposition to Catholics in Mary's reign. But the poor man involved himself in sad troubles; for we learn, from the private correspondence of the time, that those who were "masters of the situation" disliked the Lutherans almost as much as the Catholics, on account of faith in the Real

Presence. He raised a complete tumult in Bristol by his sermons. He was on one occasion actually excommunicated by Parker in full Synod in Henry VII's Chapel for contumacy. So this quasi-exception proves the rule. The rule is clear from the testimony of one of the chief actors in the drama of 1559—Dr. Cox, appointed Bishop of Ely. In a letter to Wolfgang Weidner, dated London, May 20, 1559, he writes: "Meanwhile, we, that little flock, who for these last five years, by the blessing of God, have been hidden among you in Germany, are thundering forth in our pulpits, and especially before our Queen Elizabeth, *that the Roman Pontiff is truly Antichrist*, and that traditions are for the most part mere blasphemies." (*Zurich Letters*, 1st series, page 27.) Our Anglican friends, therefore, are constantly making a cardinal mistake, in viewing their church as typified by such men as Andrews, Hooker, and others.

I willingly grant, that after a time, when Catholics were completely put down, and the new order of things was established, there was a reaction in a Catholic sense, and that in the establishment itself there occasionally arose truly estimable men, such as Bishop Andrews and others, who, had their lot been cast in our communion, would have been excellent members of the mystical body of Christ in union with Rome. But I contend that such men had no part in the foundation of the system inaugurated at Elizabeth's accession. The question is solely about the year 1559. No subsequent revival of Catholic principles can redintegrate a radically defective origin, or change the character of the foundation. What was done in 1559?—that is the question. What was established? Who were the actors?

Whom then did Elizabeth's first bishops resemble? I trace a family likeness to our Evangelicals and Dissenters. They were all certainly what we should now call low; mostly marked with the Genevan stamp. Compare, for instance, Parker with Dr. Sumner; who, remember, has been excommunicated by his own Suffragan of Exeter, for heresy in the Gorham affair. Well, Parker, too, did not believe in the absolute necessity of baptism. This is clear from his instructions to ministers of parishes respecting the baptism of children. These are his very words:—"Provided that the people be taught by an homily made therefore, that they need not to stand in any scrupulosity for the delay of baptism, if they (the children) depart before they be presented to the minister of the parish." (Strype, *Annals of E.*, 183, ed. 1709.) Strype writes in a marginal note, "*Non probo*," as well he might.

Here is another most serious view which I submit to my Anglican friends. They profess to hate Erastianism, and the enslavement of the Church to the State. They would vindicate for the Church a principal action in matters of doctrine and discipline. They are right; aye, but what is their position, and on what foundation do they stand? Do they reflect that the basis on which the present structure rests, is Erastianism, pure, simple, and unmixed? What was the state of things at Elizabeth's advent? All Edward's changes (Erastian also) had been abolished by the nation's return to unity. The Catholic religion was restored. The bishops were all Catholics, united with Rome. Well, Elizabeth and her first Parliament reestablish the Act of Supremacy, and by the Act of Uniformity restore the Common Prayer.

These constitute the very fundamentals of the English system. Mind—all this is purely secular action. All the bishops voted against these changes. As bishops, they were not even consulted. So that Queen, Lords, and Commons, introduce at once these fundamental changes—of doctrine, of discipline, of church government—not only without the consent of the Church, but in opposition to the whole of the bishops, both in their legislative and episcopal capacity! while the convocation, then Catholic, resisted (*pendente re*), and left its protest to posterity. Erastianism pure and undiluted. No convocation had anything to do with it, for the (Protestant) convocation of 1562 came too late to affect a change brought about in 1559; and what they did was of no force without the Parliament. And Anglicans boast of their pure branch of the Church Catholic, that branch having literally been founded by secular hands; the architect who directed the operation being a scheming layman—Cecil!

I have now before me a pamphlet by the Rev. Joseph Oldknow on Holy Orders. It advances a variety of very cool assertions, which are, perhaps, in the right place this warm weather—among the rest, the following, which, I must say, is more than cool—it is cold—below the freezing point—so as to invite a shiver—*tremor occupat artus*. Here it is: “It is an error to speak of the English Church or the English Reformation as *in any way* connected with Calvin!” Now I am, of course, aware that Calvin was not personally present as an actor in the scene. But who, with but a moderate share of information, is not aware that his influence, both by his allies Bucer and Peter Martyr, and by his correspondence with

Cranmer, that arch-Erastian—some of his letters being still extant—was weighty and effective in the latter changes under Edward? Why, it was this Calvinistic influence that prevailed in that particular change which “Anglo-Catholics” ought especially to regret—namely, the superseding Edward’s *first* book, which had been composed, “with the assistance of the Holy Ghost”, and substituting a Sacramentarian, not a *sacrificial* Liturgy. Bucer is called by Collier “Calvin’s second in England”; and Calvin, in his correspondence with Cranmer, applauds him for following the advice of Peter Martyr. Both these worthies were highly honoured by the ruling power. Bucer installed at Cambridge with a pension; Peter Martyr, at Oxford, made professor and canon of Christchurch; and both Cranmer and they acting under the inspiration of Calvin.

But I will treat the Rev. Joseph Oldknow to a very pertinent quotation from the Protestant Collier:—

“But much greater alterations than this were now coming forward. The Common Prayer-Book was to be reviewed: Calvin, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, by making exceptions against the service established, had their share in bringing on this change. Calvin, who thought himself wiser than the ancient Church, and fit to dictate religion to all countries in Christendom, had taken no small pains in this matter. Something of this kind has been observed already in his letter to the Protector: he continued still to intermeddle, and solicit for his own fancy, as appears by several other epistles. In his letter to Bullinger, he takes notice of his interposing in Hooper’s case, and that he did not approve the rochet and cap in the episcopal habit, though he would not have had

Hooper gone quite so far in his opposition. In another of his letters to Cranmer (*Epist.*, p. 131) he speaks disgracefully of the English Reformation, 'that there was so much Popery and intolerable stuff still remaining, that the pure worship of God was not only weakened, but in a manner stifled and overlaid with it.'" (Collier, vol. ii, p. 309.) Again, Collier tells us that Calvin "pushed his design by his agents in the court, the country, and the universities. Bucer was a strong second to Calvin, and what efforts he made has been seen already. Peter Martyr agreed to Bucer's amendments . . . he gave God thanks for making himself and Bucer instrumental in putting the bishops in mind of the exceptionable places in the Common Prayer. That Archbishop Cranmer told him they had met about this business, and concluded on a great many alterations." (*Ib.*, p. 310.) The second book, therefore (that is, the present standard of Anglican doctrine and practice),—the very book which Mr. Oldknow is bound to believe and follow, is the result of the representations of Calvin and his cooperators, Bucer and Peter Martyr.

Then, as to Elizabeth's time, was there no connexion with Calvin? The Reformers then were in close communion with the Helvetian churches, and therefore certainly not disconnected with Calvin. Listen to the remarkable testimony of Grindall, Elizabeth's first Bishop of London. Bullinger, in 1566, had published a Confession of Faith of the churches of Helvetia. Grindall congratulates him, and among other things says, "Ad hunc usque diem cum vestris Ecclesiis vestrâque confessione nuper editâ PLENISSIME consentimus!" "Even down to the present day, we *most fully* agree with your Churches, and with your Confession (of Faith) recently published."

(Strype, 488). No connection with Calvin! If Mr. Oldknow will consult Strype (*Annals*, chap. 21), he will also find that Calvin was consulted by the English Reformers as their *spiritual adviser*, as to their scruples about the few ceremonies that were retained in the Establishment. He will find a long answer addressed to them, in which Calvin quiets their conscience. No connection with Calvin! Does not identity of principle and approximation of doctrine, held in past days, and held at the present day by a large, if not the larger portion of members of the Church of England, constitute a connection in *some* way with Calvin?

I write this on the Octave-day of St. Augustine, Apostle of England, Envoy of the Pope, and first Archbishop of Canterbury,—I hope, under his auspices. I have still abundant matter to contribute to this subject; but if this prove my last letter, I wish to take the present occasion to apologise for any offence to my Anglican friends, which may have proceeded from too forcibly and less respectfully urging what I believe to be the truth. Offence to any one is the farthest from my thoughts, and still less to that section of my countrymen whom I have addressed. I consider them the *corps d'élite* of the Church of England, and that is the reason I have taken so much pains to convince them. But, alas! I know the force of education, and the natural resistance to an avowed adversary, even when propounding a truth, and sometimes—such is poor human nature—the more forcibly a truth is urged, the more the attempt is resented. Were I an Anglican, I probably should myself, like many others, array myself in an impenetrable panoply of resistance, “*Homo sum*,” etc. But, my An-

glican countrymen, whoever have perused these letters, forget that it is a dreaded Romanist who addresses you; abstract your thoughts from the writer, view exclusively the merits of the case, and sure I am that, as reasoning and I believe conscientious men, you cannot withstand this combined assault of facts and arguments: sure I am, that the most doughty champion among you—be he a very Titan in polemics, *Anglicanis ipsis Anglicanior*—will at least be staggered as to the validity of Anglican Orders. *Quod faxit Deus!*

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court: Octave of St. Augustine, Apostle of England,
First Archbishop of Canterbury.

P.S.—In the above letter, I have alluded to the second batch of Scotch bishops consecrated in England. Relying on two or three authorities, I named 1664 as the date. I hereby wish, not to rectify that date exactly, but to state that another date, Dec. 15, 1661, is assigned by Archbishop Juxon's register. Juxon died in 1663. The register also states that the Bishop of London, assisted by three others, performed the ceremony; whereas, Collier and Keith (himself a Scotch bishop) state that it was the Bishop of Winchester, assisted by two others. If 1661 be the true date, and two distinct consecrations are not indicated, then it must have preceded by one year that truly "untoward event," the change of the English Ordinal in 1662, and possibly might, by the discussions which it would originate, and conjointly with the writings of Erastus Senior, have something to do with bringing that change about.

LETTER IX.

PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

SIR,—Two archbishops of Canterbury, I think, have sadly committed themselves,—Abbot, by patronising the publication by Mason ; and Wake, by deliberately vouching for the truth, the genuineness, and the contemporaneousness of documents which I have demonstrated, and intend still further to demonstrate by irrefragable evidence, both internal and external, to be vile fabrications.

Aprpos of Archbishop Abbot, permit me to mention an extraordinary circumstance in his life. It is only indirectly connected with the present subject, but it may interest some of your readers who may not have heard of it. He committed accidental homicide under very remarkable circumstances. On the 24th July, 1621, armed with quiver and crossbow, he went a-hunting in Lord Zouche's park at Bramzill, Hampshire. In discharging his arrow, he missed the buck, and unfortunately killed the keeper of the park, one Peter Hawkins. This brought out the royal head of the church, James I, in full supremacy. He first appointed a commission of inquiry as to any and what degree of blame was to be attached to the metropolitan. The answer of the commissioners may be seen in Collier. He next issued two

decrees, both of which are to be found in Rymer (vol. xvii, p. 337). One is a grant of the royal pardon, screening him from trial, releasing him from all penalties of forfeiture of goods and chattels, and every legal consequence of the misadventure.

The second is a nomination of certain bishops as a commission to dispense him from the *canonical irregularity* he might have incurred. The event was, of course, a pure accident ; but still he, an Archbishop of Canterbury, was hunting, and that with deadly weapons—a curious example of a primate's pastime ; as the royal commission is also a curious illustration of High Church imitative application of Catholic discipline and canon law. Do you think that the Gospellers of 1559, who laid the foundations on which Anglicanism now stands, would have stuck at "canonical irregularity" resulting from an accident ?

Such was the man under whose auspices the pretended registers of Parker's consecration were ushered into the world. And yet it is difficult to know correctly his principles. He seems to have begun with High, and to have ended with Low. Collier says he was inclined to Calvinism ; and in Richardson's Godwin we find two directly contrary descriptions of his character. Godwin commences with a high eulogy, but, dying during Abbot's archiepiscopate, leaves only an account of its beginning. Richardson continues it, and charges him with sloth and neglect in not guarding the church against sectaries and innovators. At first, he was in high favour with the king ; afterwards, deeply in disgrace, which his disobedience to royal injunctions was certainly not calculated to mitigate. An instance of this occurred in 1617.

James had issued a singular royal document (Richardson calls it "libellum"), the purport of which was to allow public amusement on all Sundays after the completion of divine service, enjoining the said document to be read in all the churches of the kingdom. Abbot resisted the injunction, and forbade it to be read in the church of Croydon, where he then resided (Richardson's *Godwin*, p. 157). What induced Abbot to change his church principles? Possibly, it might be the conscious knowledge of the spuriousness of these very registers, proving to him that there could be no claim to apostolical succession in the Established Church.

I will now proceed to notice the leading arguments which have been advanced to sustain the authenticity of the register, or rather its existence anterior to 1613, the date of its publication. They fail even in this, as I will show; but did they even succeed in throwing back the date considerably, even to the year 1559 itself, this would not disprove the fraud. It would leave entirely untouched the positive proofs I have produced. It would be Priam's weapon, "*telum imbellè sine ictu*," against "*robur et æs triplex circa pectus*."

The first case I take is from Mason, who, in his edition of 1625, thus alludes to the celebrated conference between John Hart and John Rainolds:—"When John Hart, thirty years ago, denied our Orders, as you do now, the learned Rainolds, out of the registers of Edmund Freak, by whom he was ordained a priest, and out of Matthew Parker's registers, by whom Freak was ordained bishop, transcribed the consecrations, which when Hart saw, he presently confessed that he thought nothing of that nature could be produced, and therefore agreed that

the whole argument should be erased and expunged out of the conference, that it might not be printed, being then to go to the press."

If there were any proof in this, it would merely give the date 1583, the year in which the conference took place. But not one particle of proof is here, even to that extent. It is the *ipse dixit* of one man, Rainolds, and that man not worthy of credit. I have the book of the conference now before me. It is a bulky, black-letter quarto of some seven hundred pages, printed by John Wolfe, London, 1584. The book itself is a fraud and a lie! I do not deny that a conference was held between Hart and Rainolds; but I do deny, from internal evidence, that this is a true report of the same. Hart was, according to Bramhall, "a very ingenious person," and according to Camden, "*præ cæteris doctissimus*;" and yet throughout this book he seems to be a mere butt for the shafts of Rainolds, or a ninepin repeatedly set up simply for the purpose of being as repeatedly knocked down. His answers are tame, spiritless, devoid of the vigour of argument, generally not going beyond mere assertion; they are put there merely as pegs for Rainolds to hang his flowing drapery of abuse upon; or as breaks to diversify the monotony of his long-winded, overbearing, bullying invectives.

Then consider the circumstances under which the conference was held. Hart was a prisoner in the Tower under sentence of death! And yet, in this point of the discussion, when Rainolds gains the victory, Hart is said to AGREE to the omission of the whole argument from the report! The wolf victorious is yielding to the lamb discomfited. Oh, lamb, quoth the wolf, permit me to

suppress all mention of my triumph and your own defeat. The virulence of the whole book is a sufficient commentary on the credibility of this assertion. The volume, as I said, was printed by John Wolf; it must also have been written by the same; and instead of being entitled "*The Conference between John Hart and John Rainolds*," it should be "*The Conference between John Wolf and John Lamb*."

And, after all, Rainolds was a rank Puritan! We learn from Fitzherbert (*Supplement to the Discussion*, chap. v, p. 212) that he preached publicly at Oxford against the title and authority of bishops, and was actually chosen by the sect to defend their cause before James I at Hampton Court. In the preface, too, of the *Conference*, I find these words addressed to Catholics:—"Your Pope hath usurped over all Christian states, *your priesthood is impious*, your Mass abomination, your Popish faith heresy; our doctrine of the Queen's supremacy, and oath thereto . . . agreeth with the Gospel, and therefore is holy." This is the man who, if Mason deserves credit, represents himself as having laboured at the conference to prove episcopal consecration! Verily, the whole thing appears to me a piece of mendacious impudence.

But let us take the testimony as true; why even then the real issue is not touched. What does it say? "Out of Matthew Parker's registers transcribed the consecrations." Why, the point at issue is Parker's own consecration, and *that only*. We do not deny that Parker consecrated others; we do not deny that there are genuine registers of the same; and, when we speak of rejecting Parker's register, it is only that portion which

has reference to himself. There is really, then, nothing to the purpose in this argument of Mason. If it shows anything, it actually shows, or at least tends to corroborate, the denial of the Lambeth affair; for John Hart, a learned man, *ex concessio*, was, like Harding and Stapleton, entirely ignorant of the existence of any registers, and was astonished at their production. As Mason says, "John Hart, thirty years ago (1583), denied our Orders."

Another fact alleged in support of the *Register*, is the Life of Parker in the work entitled *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*; and printed in London by John Day, in 1572, three years before Parker's decease. The book consists of the lives of seventy Archbishops of Canterbury, Parker himself being the seventieth. In this Life of Parker, the Lambeth consecration is referred to, as having been performed on December 17th, by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins. There was also a marginal note referring to the registers, thus worded:—"Hæ confirmationes et consecrationes in registris apparent." "These confirmations and consecrations appear in the *registers*." There are also two tables: one displaying the armorial bearings, both episcopal and private, of all the Anglican bishops at that time, 1572, occupying the English Sees; Parker's being conspicuously placed in the centre of the page: the other being a list of all their names and dioceses, their degrees, order, native county, age, and date of consecration. The work itself is ascribed to Parker; and as to the authorship of sixty-nine of the lives, together with the date 1572 as regards *them*, I am not disposed to cavil. But with regard to the seventieth—the Life of Parker—and the date 1572 as connected with it, I unhesitatingly de-

nounce it as an imposture. It was annexed afterwards, and even a long time afterwards, to the rest of the work ; that is, supposing the date of the principal part of the work to be the year 1572. This I proceed to prove.

An unexceptionable witness is the Puritan translator of a short and totally different life of Parker in the "*Historiola*" of the masters of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, supposed to have been Dr. Aldrich, or at all events, one who was conversant with the events of the time. His little book was printed in 1574, two years afterwards. After the translation referred to, there follows a fierce invective against this very work, *De Antiquitate, etc.* It commences thus :—"To the Christian reader, peace in Christ, and warre with Antichriste." In this he alludes to the seventieth life being *yet to be written*. I transcribe his exact words :—"But because this worthie worke seemes not yet licked to the lovely shape, nor grown to the just number (70), for the first leafe in the title promiseth fulle seventye Archbishops, and the last leafe performeth upp but sixtie nyne, it is like enoughe * * * some other off lower calling and lesse business adde unto those 69 one or other storie that came to light containing the lyfe off this present Matthew Archbishope and so make uppe the number of 70 Archbishops as in that Latin boke is only promised." This proves indisputably that the Life of Parker was not then annexed to the work ; for, had it been, assuredly this writer must have known it.

There is also irresistible internal evidence of the said "Life" being concocted long after the date of 1572, for there are mistakes which neither Parker, nor any one living with him, could possibly make *bond fide*.

Barlow is called, for instance, 'absolutely Bishop of Chichester at the alleged consecration of Parker,—he was only "elect." Hodgkins is called Richard instead of John. We are told that Parker consecrated all his suffragan bishops, and completed their full number in the province of Canterbury, within the first two years:—"Proximisque duobus annis integrum numerum provinciæ suæ Episcoporum sacrandocomplevit." This is positively and glaringly false, and no one connected with Parker could possibly make such a statement; for the See of Oxford remained vacant till the year 1567,—eight years from Parker's accession! Mistakes also are made in noting the successive consecrations of bishops: for instance, Bullingham is noted as consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, subsequently to Davis of St. Asaph, and Young of St. David's,—"*Richardus Davis Assavensis . . . deinde Nicolaus Bullingham ad Lincolniensem Episcopatum evectus est*"; whereas Bullingham, Jewel, Young, and Davis, were all consecrated on the same day, Jan. 21, 1559-60. I could point out other blunders: I will content myself with one more. Pilkington and Downham are described as consecrated March, 2, 1561. Now, that is unmistakably a revelation of a later period of concoction. At the time of their consecration the Anglican Church invariably began the year from the 25th of March, and the same reckoning was adopted in all registers. According therefore to that, Pilkington and Downham were consecrated March 2, 1560. It was only at a later period that that date would be assigned to 1561, just as we should now do. All these points are plain indications of the posthumous addition of the Life in question.

It is very remarkable that of this London edition of 1572, very few copies were printed; and it is only into a portion of that small number that this Life of Parker was foisted. During the Ordination controversy, great search was made for them; the result of which was to discover but twenty-one copies; and in only thirteen of these was found the Life of Parker. In fact, says Dibdin, in the fourth volume of *Typographical Antiquities*, (p. 126) "there are very few copies of this rare work that are alike." And there are other subsequent additions to some, as well as this Life of Parker; for instance, in the Althorpe copy, there is added a catalogue of the chancellors, pro-chancellors, and proctors, of doctors and graduates for a certain period of the University of Cambridge: and Dibdin remarks, that it is evident that this supplemental matter was added some time after the previous part was published. This, then, is a similar proceeding to the addition of Parker's Life; though not, probably, with the same fraudulent design.

Why, it may be asked, were so few copies of the Life printed; not being even introduced into the whole of the twenty-one copies of the work? Probably it was, that when, after a certain time, the consecration of Parker would be found to have been recorded during his life, and under his supposed inspection, the previous general ignorance of the Lambeth affair might be accounted for by the paucity of the copies.

There was a second edition in 1605: where printed, think you? In a very outlandish place—Hanau, in Germany—although the book was of almost exclusively English interest. But, wonderful to say, it contains not the Life of Parker! This is direct and positive evidence

that this "Life" was not even *then* concocted. Assuredly it would have been inserted, had it been in existence; for this Hanau edition was evidently got up in the interest of Anglican pretensions to apostolical succession. The title of the book runs thus: "De Antiquitate, etc.—Historia antehac non nisi semel, nimirum Londini in ædibus Joannis Daii, Anno M.D. LXXII. excusa: nunc verò boni publici ergò recognita et recusa." Hanoviæ, Typis Wechelianis. M.DC.V. I produce the title because it is a very unusual one; and the prominent and pointed way of alluding to and describing the "only once" printed London edition of 1572, is suggestive of a design. One purpose, probably intended by the book, was to accredit that date of the English edition, and to introduce, as it does, those tables of arms, and lists of names and dates of consecration, before alluded to. I have this Hanau book now before me; I greatly suspect that the type of these armorial plates, and of these lists, is *English*; and they are all in *italics*, like the English copies. There is blundering and trickery combined. These tabular pages, having reference, by the by, to an archbishop whose life is not in the volume, are placed, without rhyme or reason, without any connexion with the context, after page 36, the page of arms being 37 and 38, and then the next is also page 37.

Again, this Life of Parker alludes to registers which did not themselves exist in 1572. The consecration-register of Parker, false as it is, did not even exist at that date. Whenever it was concocted, which I do not pretend to decide, this at least is apparent from its own testimony, that it was not written till after Parker's death, in 1575; for immediately after the exordium,—

from which I drew in my last letter so striking a proof of fraud,—and *before* the acts of confirmation, consecration, etc., occurs the notice of Parker's death, thus :—“Dictus Reverendissimus Pater Mattheus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, xvii die mensis Maii, anno Domini 1575, in aurorâ, apud Lambehith, mortem obiit, et diem clausit extremum.” Therefore the whole appears to have been written after his death. This fact Mason and Le Courayer have suppressed ; Bramhall, however, publishes it. The register, therefore, could not have been referred to in 1572. It has been, indeed, remarked by the Oxford editor of Bramhall, that the said notice is written in another hand in a blank space. Well, but was not that space blank *before* as well as after the following entries ? But, however that may be, I have adduced abundant evidence to establish fraudulent dealing in this matter of the book and the register. How suggestive of fraud, too,—because unnecessary and unnatural,—is that note in the margin—“these confirmations and consecrations appear in the register.” Just fancy in any historical book, during this generation, a mention of Dr. Tait's consecration with this note in the margin—“Dr. Tait's consecration is duly registered.” How ridiculous ! Clearly, then, there is pious legerdemain in all this. The “Life of Parker” and the register are in a league together ; they are two accomplices conspiring to deceive. But why should there be any trickery at all, if everything pretended was right and true ? The existence of a trick discredits the whole of a cause, and recoils fatally upon the party attempting it.

In fine, the affair appears to be a complete *imbroglio* of sinister purposes. It is a mystification, and an in-

explicable enigma, except on the supposition of a design to deceive. I ask, too, how could events which did not happen till after Parker's decease, be referred to in Parker's life? I ask also—is it not mysterious, is it not astonishing, is it not unaccountable, that Parker—or his chaplain—should, in the first instance, compose an elaborate and expensive work, on a subject directly and deeply interesting to every member of the Anglican Church—in fact, to every Englishman—and should only print twenty-one copies? And then, that the next edition should not appear till after the lapse of thirty years; and even then, not in England, where alone it would excite interest, but in a third-rate town in Germany! Thus Germany was instructed in the ecclesiastical history of England; England herself being left in the dark! What possible motive, or object, could there be in Parker's limiting the impression to a score of copies? It has been desperately suggested that *modesty* might have been his motive—he was unwilling to record and publish his own praises. Modesty, forsooth! Well, but there were some copies *without* his 'Life';—these contained, therefore, nothing in his praise. If he could publish *one* such copy, he could publish five hundred; and his modesty would have been spared. Modesty, forsooth! Well, but what had his modesty to do with the non-publication of his "Life" in the Hanau edition, thirty years after his death? That query, indeed, is, in schoolboy phrase, a *poser*. All this shows also how difficult and next to impossible it is to manage an imposture of any magnitude so as to elude detection and preserve consistency; to observe, in fine, the Horatian maxim,

as requisite in the art of forgery as in the art of poetry :—

— servetur ad imum,
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.

The “experts” gave evidence the other day, at the Dinorben trial, to the effect that in a disguised handwriting of any length, the natural writing is sure to “ooze out” before its close. How much more likely is this in a complicated plan of imposition extending to many circumstances and embracing a range of many years !

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

Another alleged proof of the Lambeth register of Parker's consecration is derived from the Act of 8th Elizabeth ; which, according to some persons, alludes to it. The words of the Act are, “. . . . every thing requisite and material for that purpose (viz., episcopal appointments) hath been made and done as precisely, and with as great care and diligence, or rather more, as ever the like was done before Her Majesty's time, as the records of Her Majesty's said father's and brother's time, and also of her own time will more plainly testify and declare.” Now the answer to this is simple. The Act alludes principally to all the Royal Acts and Parliamentary records of three reigns, as connected with episcopal appointments—letters patent, royal assents, *congés d'élire*, and other documents of a like nature. Of episcopal registers Parliament takes no cognisance. The discussion was about episcopal consecrations *in globo*, and their validity ; not about any particular fact, or Parker's individual case. It was a compound question : *de jure*, as well as *de facto*. But

what is our present question?—the simple question; the whole and sole and single question? It is exclusively a question *de facto*. It is this—Was Parker consecrated at all? Parliament was not occupied with this question of fact. If it meant to allude to it and to prove the fact, it would not speak of a register, it would speak of the *fact*. In what year was this Act passed? In 1566. When did Parker become archbishop? In 1559: only seven years before. If, then, the Lambeth consecration were a fact—of course, a solemn and notorious fact—would Parliament allude to the *register* to prove the fact? Preposterous! The Great Exhibition of 1851 is also just seven years distant from the present time. Has it already so vanished in the mist of remote antiquity as to require a reference to history to prove that it took place? Suppose to-night's Parliament were to allude to the Exhibition; but, instead of speaking of the great fact as known, it were to speak of the report in the *Times*, or of a document in Dr. Sumner's cabinet, as evidence of the fact. How ridiculous the idea! And yet the case in question is perfectly analogous. The Lambeth affair, if a fact, was a great fact; and yet Elizabeth's Parliament is supposed to prove a solemn fact of only seven years standing, by allusion to a register! as if it was a thing beyond the memory of man, and not a fact of which no public man, such as a member of Parliament, could be ignorant. No: the Act, in speaking of the records of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth, is not discussing the fact of one man's consecration in 1559.

My latter observations, I think, are important, and of general application. A register is not the first and

natural thought that occurs respecting a notorious fact. This is essentially more prominent than its record. But when a thing is a fraud and a cheat, then the fraudulent register is first, and last, and uppermost ; in fine, the whole stock in trade. Let Anglicans produce one single witness to the fact, independently of any register.

By the by, they *have* attempted to produce one such witness, through a second-hand, or rather a third-hand, process. Mason tells us that no less a person than Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord High Admiral of England, who had survived till 1616, did in that year—that is, fifty-seven years after the event, being of course in extreme old age—tell a certain person *whom Mason declines to name*, that he was present at Lambeth on the occasion, and that by special invitation, because he was related “by blood” to Parker. This, says Le Courayer, is a better testimony than that of Neale in support of the Nag’s-head story. Is it indeed? Is it worth a withered rush? Let us see. Who is the nameless man from whom Mason heard it? The suppression of his name at once discredits the tale, and casts it to the winds. Common sense tells us, and must have told Mason too, that in such an affair the name was indispensable. Then he was invited because related by consanguinity to Parker. Now, I have no doubt that Parker’s father was an honest and respectable man, as a worsted weaver at Norwich ; but to make us believe that he was related *by blood* to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, is drawing *rather* too deeply on our powers of belief. Then, how could that most particularising document, the account of the ceremony, which I have before quoted *in extenso*, fail to notice his honourable presence?

What? name the registrar and subordinate officers, and leave unnoticed the presence, by special invitation, of the Right Hon. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, at a ceremony at five o'clock on a winter's morning?—What? was this not known till the year of Grace 1616? this *secret* not revealed till 1616? Mason himself not knowing it when he published the first edition of his book? *Ohe! jam satis.*

And one more argument I will advance, to show that the blood of the Howards did not run in the veins of Matthew Parker. Anglicans will surely believe the testimony of the writer of the Life of Parker in "*De Antiquitate Brit. Eccl.*," for they attribute it to Parker himself, or some one closely connected with him. Now that life simply states that Parker was born—"liberis parentibus"—that is, his parents were not in a state of servitude. Is not this conclusive? And if so, the whole story tumbles to pieces.

I have a few more words to say of the Act of 8th Eliz. This Act distinctly declares that the Act of 25th Hen. VIII for the ordering and making of bishops, was revived by the 1st Eliz. Now what was the form enjoined by that statute? It established the Roman ceremonial as to giving the mitre, the ring, etc., besides the benedictions, unctions, and other rites of the pontifical. This was absolutely incompatible with the re-enactment of Edward's Ordinal in the same session, and thus is singularly confirmed the position I have taken; namely, that the Act of Uniformity (1st Eliz.) did not, by restoring the Common Prayer, restore the Ordinal. The commission to the Catholic bishops, Tunstall, etc., evidently supposed the use of a Catholic form. I dwell on this point

particularly, because it is an additional proof of the forgery of the commission of Dec. 6, to Barlow, etc., for Elizabeth would not—whatever she might do afterwards, in other instances—stultify herself and degrade her dignity by reversing her own Royal Act. Afterwards, as no other form was possible, if any form at all were used, the Ordinal was used; the convocation of 1562 approved of it, and the 8th Elizabeth enacted it. In the mean time, the Queen ratified all by “*her supreme authority*,” to which this Act of 8th Eliz. very markedly refers. I have read this Act again and again, and find there is a *studied ambiguity* in its allusion to the past use of the Ordinal. This disputatious and polemic Act then proceeds to enact (without, by the by, first repealing the Act of 25th Henry), that the Ordinal “shall stand and be in full force, and from henceforth be used, etc.,” and further enacts that all bishops made by such form be “by authority hereof declared and enacted to be and shall be archbishops, bishops, etc., and rightly made, ordered, and consecrated”—in other words, whatever be the case, we, the Parliament, make them bishops. I am sorry to say that Dr. Heylin, in other respects a respectable writer, glaringly contradicts himself on this subject. In one place he takes the same view as that put forward by myself (Eccl. Rest. in Ep. to Reader, page 8); in another, he falsifies the Act of 8th Eliz., and represents it as saying that the 1st Parliament of Eliz. intended to restore the Ordinal, and that it was only a “*casus omissus*.”—whereas there is nothing like this in the 8th Eliz., either in word or sense.

There have been some Anglicans who maintained that the “supplying clause” of the commission to Barlow,

Dec. 6, was alluded to by the 8th Eliz. This scarcely deserves notice. However, I will blow it away with a single breath. That commission is, as I have proved, a forgery; and it was concocted long after the 8th Eliz. It was, probably, an expression in the Act that suggested the idea to the concocter.

I must now think of concluding, that I may not exceed all reasonable bounds. I return thanks to your correspondent "A Subscriber," for his approbation; but were I to attempt to exhaust the subject, I must demand space, on the whole, equal to a goodly volume. I propose, therefore, to send you one more letter, and then to close the subject.

In conclusion, then, as I am writing this within the Octave of St. Peter and Paul—with a strong desire that St. Peter may bless these letters, and those who read them—may I request my Anglican friends to ponder for a moment, first on a text of the Gospel—"Ascendens autem in unam navem quæ erat Simonis—sedens docebat de navicula turbas." (Luke v.) "Going up into one of the ships that was Simon's—sitting, he taught the multitudes out of the ship"; and, secondly, on two or three sentences from the Fathers. "Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia." "Where Peter is, there is the Church."—St. Ambrose. "Si quis Cathedræ Petri jungitur, hic meus est." "If any one unites himself to the chair of Peter, he is mine."—St. Jerome. "Beatitudini tuæ, id est, Cathedræ Petri communione consocior." "I am associated in communion with your Holiness, that is, the chair of Peter."—The same. Now I ask you,—you are not among the audience round "Simon's ship," how then can you hear the teaching of Jesus? You have not Peter among you;

how then can the Church be? Answer St. Ambrose. You are not in union with St. Peter's Chair; how then with St. Jerome and the Saints? Answer St. Jerome. In fine, you are not in "St. Peter's ship;" how then can you expect the presence of Jesus? Oh! no, no. You are sailing in a piratical ship, called "The Act of Parliament." You are associated with a motley crew of all complexions, shades, and colours, uncertain to what premier-captain the safety of your ship may be entrusted. To-day, perhaps, a Shaftonian at the helm, steering your vessel right upon the Gorham rocks; to-morrow, perchance, a Voltairian, tacking towards the shoals of indifferetism. Disguise it as you may—boast of your Anglo-Catholicism as you may—disavow Protestantism as you list—yet, remaining where you are, you are necessarily sailing under an Erastian flag, under state command, under Parliamentary regime. The Church of England, after all, is, as has been well observed, "a clause in an Act of Parliament." Yes—the State has made you—the State can unmake you;

An Act unmake you, as an Act has made.

It was only the other day that we had the highest Ecclesiastical assurance that such is the case—that Parliament, in the ultimate and highest appeal, is the *arbiter of doctrine*! In the debate on Lord Ebury's motion for the revision of the Liturgy, what said His Grace of Canterbury? I give you his words. "The fact is, that the most trifling alterations in our established formularies can only be authorised by an Act of the Legislature, and, from whatever quarter they come, must be submitted to Parliament for its sanction. The *doctrines* involved in our formularies are doctrines on which there is great

difference of opinion (!) on which men think strongly and speak warmly ; and the introduction of such topics in a parliamentary debate would be likely to lead to a theological controversy, of which it would be more easy to foresee the beginning than the end." A comfortable berth for an immortal soul, this Church of England !

The first stone of the fabric is already touched ; the political services are abolished. Nay, *doctrine* is already assaulted, and changed by supreme authority, to which every churchman must yield. That horrid Divorce Bill involves an essential point of Catholic doctrine—the indissolubility of the marriage tie. This very week, the Commons have passed the Marriage with a Wife's Sister Bill. The ulterior success of Lord Ebury's motion is quite within the range of probabilities ; for every party in the church finds something in the Book of Common Prayer which they would wish to alter. Even *you*, Anglicans and High Churchmen, whom I specially address, must surely, for example, desire a revision of the Burial Service. What is every Anglican Clergyman who buries a corpse compelled to say ? "It hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto Himself the soul of our dear brother. . . . We commit his body to the ground, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life. . . . Almighty God ! we give Thee hearty thanks for that it had pleased Thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world !" Over whom are these words to be pronounced ? With the exception of self-murderers, unbaptised, and excommunicated persons—and even these exceptions are often disregarded—over every one ! The clergyman is bound to address those words to the Searcher of Hearts over the

body of the unconverted sensualist—the profane swearer—the usurious extortioner—the adulterous libertine—the “rich glutton,” who, like him of the Gospel, there is every reason to fear, is “buried in hell!” Talk of the Catholic Church making saints!—why, the Church of England *canonises* every sinful mortal she consigns to the earth! She falsifies the sentence of our Lord—“Many are called, but few are chosen;” for every one whom *she* buries is a saint in Heaven. This is truly awful. Were I an Anglican clergyman, in pronouncing those words, I should fear the summary fate of Ananias and Saphira for telling a lie to God, and knowing and feeling that I told it!

Well, then, the revision is possible. Then what will follow? Why, among other things, the Gorham view will prevail in the House of Commons—holy baptism will be outvoted: Baron Rothschild, and perhaps other Hebrews, will have a seat; and will vote away the public money—and faith in Jesus Christ: they will not be good Jews if they do not. Ay, and suppose that these consequences of Parliament’s supreme ecclesiastical power were realised—and in principle they may—what, my Anglican friends, would be their bearing upon the Church of England? Why, the Church of England, having adopted these changes, would still remain *the same Church of England!!* She still would rest upon the same foundations upon which she now rests; foundations, as I have shown, laid by exclusively secular hands in 1559; by the Queen, Lords, and Commons, in spite of bishops, in spite of the then Catholic convocation. Yes, when these changes shall have been accomplished—when Baptismal regeneration shall have been voted a “soul-destroying doctrine,”

as the phrase is—when the burial of unbaptised persons shall have been made compulsory—when the visitation of the sick shall have been revised, and the least vestige of confession and absolution expunged as an immoral abomination—when the Athanasian Creed shall have been expunged as the very climax of intolerance—when, in fine, every mystery which requires the blind obedience of faith shall have been eliminated—the “Church” will still retain her identity—she will still be the Church “as by law established.” These changes will be effected in accordance with and by virtue of her very constitution. Oh ! Anglicans ! Anglicans ! in what a vortex of inconsistencies are you whirled ! In what a maelstrom of contradictions are you engulfed ! Stretch forth your hands to Jesus, like Peter sinking in the waves ; cry with him, “ Domine, salvum me fac ! ” Cry sincerely, honestly, humbly, confidently, perseveringly ; and Jesus, stretching forth His hand, will snatch you from the deep, and land you on the *terra firma* of undoubted Orders, of Catholic Communion, and of immutable Catholic truth.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court :

7th Day within Oct. SS. Peter and Paul, 1858.

LETTER X.

PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

SIR,—Having proved that Parker was not consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559, and that the register, the “Ordo rituum et cæremoniarum” which appeared in your columns, and other documents bearing upon that alleged fact, are false and supposititious, it is a satisfaction to me to know that learned and competent judges consider my position unassailable, and my argument unanswerable. Indeed, whoever thoroughly investigates the question,—whoever places himself in communication with contemporary writers,—whoever is alive to detect the specious reasonings and the unsupported assertions of the post-Masonic defenders of the Lambeth consecration,—whoever discriminatingly studies and compares the numerous documents in Rymer,—whoever considers well the circumstances of the period, the character, temper, and principles of the actors in the religious drama of 1559,—and though last, not least, whoever attends to the internal evidence afforded by the documents produced,—will find that, in proportion as he pursues his research, conviction of fraud in the Lambeth affair will flash in his face. *Experto crede.*

At the present day, I allow that it is a startling position to assume. The question of fraud has, from one

cause or another, been placed in abeyance. The Protestant will naturally start up, and inquire how is it possible that his "church" could be going on for three centuries upon a baseless foundation? The Catholic, having possibly settled into a tacit acquiescence, may incredulously demand a proof. Nevertheless, it is the truth. Now, truth may sleep, and sleep long; but she never dies. In this case, how much soever historians may have mesmerised her,—how much soever polemical gladiators may have entranced her,—she still lives! "She is not dead, but sleepeth"; and I trust our Lord will take her by the hand, and resuscitate her for the conviction of this generation. Yes, I think this important subject is likely to revive in our day, and it would be well for our rising priesthood to make it their special study. It would be well, too, to expose that baneful theory, which the devil suggested to the apostate Le Courayer, namely, that the way to bring about a union, was to acknowledge the validity of the English Orders (that is, to betray the truth); whereas, the legitimate and natural as well as the actual result of such a procedure, is obstinacy in schism,—a resolution to stand on their own foundation, and hold out for terms. Only convince our Anglican friends that they are really without Orders, and all that is honest must come to us; they must fly, like children escaping some dread catastrophe, to the embraces of their true Mother. There is no knowing what great effects, under the divine blessing, a successful handling of this matter might produce in the ranks of our Anglican brethren; for depend upon it, there is a great amount of earnest honesty among them, and to this assault, even the force of education, I think, would yield.

The subject would be now taken up with less disadvantage than formerly. The same truth has been maintained by learned and holy men, living at that very time,—by Harding, Stapleton, Bristow, and others, who contended that the Queen's Letters Patent alone made the first bishops. On the production of the register in 1613, the Catholic world was taken by surprise, and the forgery was denounced by Champney and others. And when, a century later, Le Courayer published his scandalising dissertation, there arose most able combatants,—Le Quien, Hardouin, Fennel, Clerophilus, Alethes, etc., who triumphantly disposed of his sophistry and misstatements! They all, however, fought at a disadvantage. Most of their works were printed abroad, and some in a foreign language; consequently, could not be expected to make their way, or be read in this country. Now, however, the press is open; we ourselves are free; we stand erect on the soil of our dear country, and we have to a certain extent the power to command the attention of the public through the periodical press, through advertisements, and other means. May we not hope for more solid results? "*Magna est veritas, et prævalebit.*"

Having mentioned Bristow, I cannot resist the desire of quoting him, and adding his testimony to the others before adduced. Who was Bristow? A distinguished member of Christ Church, Oxford. He passed B.A. in 1559 (the year of Parker's appointment), and M.A. in 1562, the year of the Convocation which drew up the thirty-nine articles. Campion and he were considered the stars of the university, and were therefore nominated to entertain Queen Elizabeth with a public disputation.

They acquitted themselves with great applause, Sept. 3, 1566. In July, 1567, Bristow became a Fellow of Exeter. Soon after this, however, his conscience compelled him to relinquish his preferment and his prospects,—he was reconciled to the Catholic Church. He subsequently published his “Motives.” Here is an extract:—“In England the king, and indeed also the queen, gives her Letters Patent to whom she pleases, and from that time they carry themselves for bishops, and begin to ordain ministers” (page 166). He tells us in Motive 21, that Parker, Grindall, and others, who by their former ordination were real priests, began to exercise the functions of archbishop and bishops, “*vel solis litteris regiis, vel ridiculâ quâdam consecratione eorum qui nullam nisi a reginâ consecrandi acceperant potestatem*”—“*either by the sole authority of royal letters patent, or by a ridiculous consecration, administered by those who had themselves received no power to consecrate except from the Queen.*” Now, this testimony of one who was contemporary, who was familiar with the transactions of the time, who was in the way of hearing and knowing everything, who was so respectable and respected, so learned and distinguished, and, I will add, so conscientious, is worth the assertion of a hundred Masons or a hundred Bramhalls; of a thousand Burnets, or a thousand Le Courayers.

I may here observe in passing, that foreign Protestants have frequently testified against the Anglican pretensions. As a specimen I will select one of the most distinguished,—Jurieu. “*D’où les évêques d’Angleterre d’aujourd’hui tiennent-ils leur mission? Ce n’est pas du Pape, avec lequel ils ont rompu . . . Les évêques*

Anglais n'eurent pas d'autre vocation que celle que leur donna la Reine Elisabeth qui les établit dans les sieges de son autorité." (*L'Esprit* de M. A. Arnauld, t. ii, 314.)

Let us bear in mind that we are concerned with Parker's case *only*. When the Reformers, at the accession of Elizabeth, invaded the land and ousted the Catholics, they formed for the moment, and for one object, but one promiscuous mass, the action of which was Calvinistic, and therefore presented no impediment to the advancement of Parker by letters patent only. As the stream, however, flowed on, it was soon evident that this loosely amalgamated mass was composed of various elements of different degrees of Protestantism. In its progress it was decomposed. The Puritan ingredient was cast down, forming a copious precipitate; the church ingredient remaining the menstruum which occupied the vessel. As it settled with time, it became clarified by purer and higher church principles. But still the original fatal defect subsisted. There was no apostolical succession, for Parker was no bishop. There were no credentials; there was nothing to show as a true apostolic pedigree. In this state of things, James I succeeds to the throne. He is strong for episcopacy,—almost a Catholic. He soon begins to evince a distrust and a doubt of the validity of the Anglican Orders; and what I am about to state throws a strong light on the aspect which this question presented at that time to a competent observer, and on the opinions of the day.

James I, at the beginning of his reign, was so dissatisfied with the evidence of real Orders in the Establishment, that *he entered into a secret negotiation with the Pope and Henry IV of France, for the purpose of import-*

ing real bishops into England. The plan was settled; one of its articles being, that the Pope should send six bishops into England, who were to remain concealed until the proper time arrived for completing the arrangement. The plan, however, failed; partly in consequence of the death of Henry IV in 1610, and partly because the secret was beginning to be divulged in London. James lost courage, and ultimately adopted, if not different opinions, at least different language. (See the Life of Cardinal du Perron prefixed to his works, p. 37; also Fennel, *Mémoires sur les Ordinations Anglaises*, part 2, p. 197). It is a matter of history that James was considered at first too favourable to Catholics; and to counteract this, the Gunpowder Plot, *alias* "Cecil's holiday," was devised. And afterwards, to counteract James's distrust of Anglican Orders, and to convince him of the regular transmission of episcopacy in the Anglican Communion, as well as to show the world the title-deeds of Anglicanism, the *pious* plot was contrived of concocting an interpolation of Parker's register. This is a rational way of accounting for it.

I hope I write this under the guidance of the light from Mount Thabor, on this occasion of our Lord's Transfiguration. He is the light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world. From the foot of how many altars is that aspiration uttered—"emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam," etc. May it be heard for the enlightening of the hearts of our friends of the Anglican community.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court: Transfiguration of Our Lord, 1858.

LETTER XI.

AN OBJECTION PLEASANTLY ANSWERED.

SIR,—I am not at present in the way of seeing the *Union* newspaper, but I have received notice from several informants, one of whom (a convert) styles it, "that amphibious journal, for it is neither fish, flesh, nor fowl," that last week there appeared a curious epistle, in reference to my letters. I have received a copy of the same, and curious indeed it is. I send it to you, requesting, as a particular favour, its insertion in the *Register*, that I may append thereto a few remarks:—

THE "REGISTER" ON ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS.

To the Editor of the "Union."

SIR,—A correspondent of the *Register* is very learnedly trying to disprove Bishop Barlow's being a real bishop, in order to overthrow Anglican Orders. Whatever arguments he may be able to bring, it seems to me that at the end they will be almost nullified by the fact that, as far as *succession* is concerned, the Reformed Irish Church has it undoubted. All of the old Catholic episcopate (except two) did, in the time of Elizabeth, conform to the English Liturgy, and remained in possession of their Sees. Of the ordination of these bishops there is not the slightest doubt; and that, since

the reformation, they have often assisted from time to time in the ordination of prelates in England, it would require little to prove. Perhaps, therefore, this gentleman would do well to attack some weaker quarter of the question of the validity of Anglican episcopacy, instead of throwing dust into the eyes of Catholics with specious arguments, proving nothing solid whatever. If you will, through the columns of your journal, call the gentleman's attention to this fact, you will greatly oblige, yours,

A (ROMAN) CATHOLIC.

Well, "the gentleman's attention is drawn to the fact," and also to this notable production of "a (Roman) Catholic"—who, of course, is no Roman Catholic at all. "The gentleman" will condescend to turn aside for this once, and notice the remarkable discovery which this very learned and logical personage has made; but mind, he is not going to be thrown off his scent in the pursuit of his game; which seems to be the object of "a (Roman) Catholic."

In the first place, then, that Barlow was no bishop, I have made pretty evident; but that is but a small portion of what I have proved. It is only as an *argumentum ad hominem*, that his case is brought into question at all. The writer has not, it seems, read my previous letters; I, therefore, on my part, "call the gentleman's attention to the fact," which they have proved and are proving, and before I have done will further prove, namely, that the Lambeth Consecration is a myth, and the record thereof a romance. But, my arguments are "specious," "proving nothing solid whatever." Exactly: you are quite right. There is nothing

solid whatever in completely demolishing the succession in the "English branch;" there is "nothing solid" in demonstrating the huge imposture upon which the whole fabric has been based; nothing "solid" in showing that there is not, nor ever has been, one real bishop, or priest, in the Establishment; nothing "solid" in all this: of course not. Why should I waste my time and my energies in pursuing a phantom light as air? Take a nobler flight—*Aquila non capit muscas*. In the black north of Ireland, there is the "solid" impregnable fortress of Apostolical succession. "The Irish Reformed Church has it undoubted."

Now, *at present*, I cannot afford to travel across the Channel. The Irish question will *keep*, and therefore, for the sake of argument, I waive it, and for the nonce, concede it; England is my field of battle. As the writer virtually grants the want of succession in the "Reformed English Church," let us amicably sit down together, and concert a plan for rectifying this nullifying flaw in the Establishment. Let me, then, suggest a capital remedy; not indeed a remedy for the past, but a redintegration that shall be a foundation for the future. The "Leviathan" is to be disposed of. It is said she can convey 10,000 troops across the sea; she can easily, therefore, accommodate 10,000 men of peace—the English clergy. Let her be chartered at once. It really seems a providential opportunity. Let the whole Anglican body of bishops, deans, canons, archdeacons, rectors, vicars, curates, have a holiday: and be shipped, Dr. Sumner and all, for Dublin Bay. Let Dr. Whately proceed on board, and impart to the pious multitude the benefit of the Ordinal, and his Apostolic blessing. A glorious day

for old England would that day be ! She would return from her Irish trip an Apostolical Church !

But, pleasantries aside, let us listen to our new instructor. "Since the reformation, they (the Irish bishops) have often assisted from time to time in the ordination of prelates in England." He infers, of course, from this, that they have leavened the whole mass with the virtue of Apostolical succession. A very pretty theory : let us analyse it.

1st. He slyly takes for granted that an *assisting* bishop is a consecrator. That is a baseless assumption, at least according to the Ordinal. The assisting bishops present the elect to the consecrator, saying, "Most reverend father in God, we present unto you this godly and well-learned man to be consecrated bishop." Thus, by this act itself, they designate one, and one only, as the consecrator. They may, therefore, according to the Ordinal, be styled the *presenting* bishops. They afterwards pronounce no form ; they speak not one word ; they merely lay their hands on the elect. Now this, without a form of words, confers no sacramental effect—no more than priests, at a priest's ordination in the Catholic Church, when, after the bishop, they lay their hands on the head of the ordained : by that act they do not ordain him priest. In Parker's register, at his alleged consecration at Lambeth, all the four are said to have pronounced the words. This was contrary to the Ordinal, which they professed to follow ; and, in fact, is another argument to stamp it as a forgery. It was a cunning device of the forger, who knew what would be said about Barlow. And, after all, he was not sufficiently cunning ; for, in compliance with the Ordinal, he makes

Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins *present* Parker to Barlow, with the words prescribed ; and thus attributes to Barlow the special function of a consecrator. An assisting, or a presenting bishop, therefore, exercises no consecrating power—that is, such a power that, were his co-bishops proved to be *no* bishops, his presence would effect a valid consecration.

However, I can again afford to be generous, and grant, for argument's sake *only*, that an assisting bishop exercises a consecrating power. In the present case, what is the fact ? How many Irish bishops have ever assisted at English consecrations ? I will tell you. All the consecrations of the province of Canterbury, since the accession of Elizabeth, with the exception of seven, together with the names and numbers of the consecrating and assisting bishops, have been registered. This includes the greater part of England and Wales. In the province of York, there has not been a regular account kept of the consecrations. I have taken the trouble to count the number of names of bishops present at consecrations from the accession of Elizabeth down to the accession of Victoria. They amount to one thousand four hundred and seven. Among these, how many Irish bishops ? You can count them on the fingers of one hand—exactly *four* ! I will now give you names and dates.

The first occasion was the consecration of William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln, December 6, 1584. The consecrating bishop was Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury ; assisted by the Bishops of Worcester, Exeter, and St. David's. The Bishop of St. David's was Marmaduke Middleton, who had been consecrated *Bishop of Waterford*, and translated.

The second was that of Thomas Morton, Bishop of Chester, July 7, 1616; consecrated by Abbot of Canterbury, assisted by the *Archbishop of Armagh*, and the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Coventry.

The third case is that of Robert Morgan, Bishop of Bangor, July 1, 1666, consecrated by Sheldon, of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Winchester, and *Limerick*.

The fourth is that of Thomas Spratt, Bishop of Rochester, November 2, 1684, consecrated by Sancroft, of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Peterborough, Ely, and *Derry*.

And that is the grand total! And this, forsooth, has apostolicized the English succession! Four assistants, out of 1,407 consecrators and assistants! As well might the tiny rill, the transient effect of a shower, when flowing into the Thames and uniting with the stream, cry out, "Lo! I am the mighty Thames!" And as rational was that homœopathist, who declared that one ounce of Epsom salts cast into the Lake of Geneva, would render the whole mass of waters an aperient. *Risum teneatis!* At length, we have homœopathy introduced into theology, and apostolicity administered in infinitesimal doses. And not only that, but the new homœopathy-theological surpasses in wonders the old homœopathy-nosological. For, whereas the latter, notwithstanding its marvellous powers of dilution, never proceeds to dilute water itself, as being the primitive undilutable element; this new Anglican theory takes the water of a weak, non-effective Ordinal, and dilutes the aqueous nullity to the one thousand four hundred and seventh degree: the result of the process being, *mirabile dictu*—Apostolical succession!!

But this "gentleman" of the *Union*, is, after all, but half an adept in this line of argument, so I will generously assist him, and furnish him with the very best of the kind, though bad is the best. There was once a *real* archbishop from Italy, who was an "assisting prelate" at an English consecration. This was Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro. This unhappy man was for twenty years a distinguished Jesuit; but having, contrary to his rule, admitted into his heart the desire of ecclesiastical dignities, and having succeeded in becoming, first, Bishop of Segni, and afterwards Archbishop of Spalatro, he fell, and apostatized. And it is a most remarkable fact, that he heralded his apostasy by coming to England and professing a great desire to unite the two religions, *just like Le Courayer*, as two independent contracting parties. For a time, he was the lion of London, was made Dean of Windsor, and preached against his mother the Church. In a year or two, however, struck with remorse, he one day mounted the pulpit, recanted all that he had said, and declared that during the whole period he had never been sincere in any one thing that he had so forcibly urged against the Catholic Church. The consequence of this was, that he was ordered to quit England within three days. I need not pursue his history further. Well, this man is registered as having, on December 14, 1617, been an assisting bishop, together with the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Coventry, when George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated Nicholas Felton for Bristol, and George Montaigne for Lincoln. Now he, undoubtedly, was a real bishop, and the *only* real bishop of the lot. Here, then, is a drop of wine in an ocean of water, and whoever can prove to

me that this drop has alcoholised the ocean, *erit mihi magnus Apollo* ! My present assailant is assuredly not that Apollo. His logical acumen is evidently not of the sharpest. His sword-blade is not well tempered, it is too brittle, it is of the *non sequitur* make, and will never cut through those numerous, and tough, and stubborn things, called facts, with which I have fortified my position. If, however, he should like to try, I have just one favour to ask—to wait until I have completed these letters, and then not to peck at this little point, and then at another ; but to assault the heart of the position, like a valiant knight. If so, I can assure the “gentleman” he will have to retire ; confessing that there is something “solid whatever” in the battlements of the foe.

I have hitherto supposed this “gentleman” to be a non-Catholic, notwithstanding his signature ; because it cannot be otherwise. But could I suppose him to be a Catholic, O ! then indeed would I rebuke him ; yes, rebuke him in the name of Truth ; rebuke him in the name of the Church : rebuke him in the name of the Divine Head of the Church, for the *animus* of his production, which is that of Le Courayer ; and for the mischief, the awful mischief which such productions are calculated to cause in immortal souls ; I mean the mischief of inducing Anglicans to suppose that the question of Anglican Orders is an open question with *us*. It is *not* an open question. Whatever theories and crotchets may be maintained on various points, yet *practically* it is a very close and settled question. No bishop has ever admitted a clerical convert to the priesthood—not even from Ireland—without unconditional ordination ; no bishop will ever do otherwise for the future ; no, never, never. And yet

if that convert were previously a real priest, that bishop in so acting—in repeating a sacrament conferring a character—would commit a grievous sacrilege. Yes, our own bishops, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster at their head, have all along been committing the crime of sacrilege, if they have iterated the sacrament of Order. Can anything be more practically demonstrative than this? And as to the mischief, here is a case in point. An Anglican Clergyman is staggered as to his Orders. He says to himself, “I cannot stay where I am; I believe in the Real Presence, and doubt my Orders; I believe the eucharist to be a propitiatory sacrifice, and doubt my own priesthood; I cannot rush into the sanctuary of God, and by presuming to consecrate the Blood of the Lamb, invite the lightnings of Heaven upon my head. I will surrender my charge, and fly for peace to the Catholic Church.” While in this state of mind, he hears or reads, as in the article before us, that Catholics themselves are, after all, not agreed on the point, and consider it an open question. *This checks his resolution*; he remains where he is, he dallies, and he dies; and the rest?—The rest is in the hands of God; perhaps, to be known “when God shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make known the counsels of hearts.” Yes, the ways of God are unsearchable; but if we may be allowed to conjecture where, in the Anglican Communion, we may ever look for conversion in a body, or in considerable numbers, doubtless it will be among the Puseyite and High Church Clergy. And what will be the motive most likely to operate? Undoubtedly the conviction of the nullity of their Orders.

If, then, you really be a Catholic, come forth and avow

yourself. Come forth, and in your own name tell us—what the spirit of your letter implies—that you believe the Anglican establishment has the apostolical succession and Orders. What other possible meaning can your letter bear? Come forth, and say the bishops of the Church are wrong, and, therefore, the Church is wrong, in unconditionally and universally re-ordaining converted Anglican ministers. If you shrink from this, then come forth and apologise to the priest who addresses you; one who has been seven-and-thirty years a priest of Christ's Holy Church; one who (he trusts), for the honour of God and the salvation of his countrymen, is endeavouring in a small way, without concealing his name, in the face of day, *in facie Ecclesie*, to persuade them of a truth of the highest importance; and thus to advance a union, *with submission*, not a union, with equality; yes, apologise to him, not in his private, but his sacerdotal capacity, for having in a public journal, and signing yourself "A Roman Catholic," accused him of "*throwing dust into the eyes of Catholics!*" May you have the blessing of a clear sight and knowledge of Heavenly Truth! For this purpose, obey our Lord's injunction—*collyrio inunge oculos tuos, ut videas*.—*Apoc.* 3-18.

But, after all, I retain the conviction that no Catholic could have penned that article. I, therefore, would calmly expostulate with the writer, and ask him—is it fair, is it honest to fight under false colours?

And now, Mr. Editor, I am sorry to find that this subject has "crushed out" a letter in continuation of my last, which is already written in great part, and contains what I consider important additional facts. I must reserve it for the next or the following week.

I write this on the feast of the glorious St. Augustine, Doctor of the Church, the great *malleus hæreticorum*. May he obtain for us Catholics the grace to refute heresy, and for our Anglican countrymen the grace to renounce it.

Yours faithfully in Christ,
JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court:
St. Augustine, Doctor of the Church, 1858.

LETTER XII.

PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

SIR,—In reference to my last letter, I have to say that there is one more Irish bishop who had something to do with the "English branch." This was Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin and Irish Chancellor, who, in 1567, was translated to Oxford. Now, he was a real bishop; for I find that he was consecrated in Mary's reign, not in Ireland, but in St. Paul's, London, on the 8th of September, 1555. He did nothing, however, that could infuse the smallest amount of apostolicity into the English succession, for he governed the diocese but one year, dying in 1568, at Swinbrook, near Burford, and neither consecrated any bishop himself, nor assisted at a consecration on a single occasion.

It is worthy of remark, that the document by which Elizabeth signifies her royal assent to his translation, directs the metropolitan to do everything necessary "*ad confirmationem, et consecrationem ejusdem in dicto Episcopatu,*" for the confirmation and *consecration* of the same in the said bishopric, although he was previously a truly consecrated bishop. (Rymer, xv, p. 671.) This, among other similar evidences, shows that at the former part of Elizabeth's reign no definite significance was attached to consecration, and that the word meant no more

than election and formal induction. This leads me to make a few observations on the ecclesiastical documents of that period, which will entirely confirm the view I have before advanced as to fraud and imposture, as also to the non-importance attached to consecration by the first Reformers under Elizabeth.

In turning over the voluminous pages of Rymer, we shall find that it is a very rare thing to discover an ecclesiastical instrument, professing to proceed from royal authority, which has not a mark of authenticity appended to it. When, however, we come to the reign of Elizabeth, the case is completely reversed. All the first *congés d'élire*, and deeds of "significavit," or royal assent, are devoid of the stamp of authority, such as the royal signature, or voucher, or privy seal. Those documents which *have* the authentication are precisely those which bear out the conclusions propounded in these letters; for instance, the commission to Tunstall and others of Sept. 9, 1559, and the never-to-be-forgotten commission to "Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury" of October 20. The first deed of royal assent (Elizabeth's) for a bishop that is authenticated, *per Breve de privato sigillo*, is that for Jewell of Salisbury, dated 27 Dec. 1559. But strangely enough, it is an abortive document; for instead of being addressed nominally to the archbishop or others, as is always the case, it is thus addressed:—"Regina, etc., omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et aliis quorum intererit," etc., "the Queen, etc., to all archbishops, bishops, and others whom it may concern," etc. Now, in the first place, at that date there was only one archbishop in England, the See of York being yet vacant; and secondly, as no one was named, the Mandate was a dead letter,

according to the homely saying, "What is any one's business is no one's business." I of course speak of validity in the Anglican sense.

According to Parker's register, Cox was consecrated Bishop of Ely on Dec. 21, 1559. And yet in Rymer there is a writ of royal assent by which Parker is required to consecrate him;—when think you? Seven days after, to wit, Dec. 28! While by the *authentic* commission of October 20, he was declared and proclaimed absolutely Richard Bishop of Ely! What an imbroglio is here!

From those documents, which *are* duly authenticated, we learn how loose the notions were at that period respecting consecration. There is a grant, *in Commendam*, for instance, to Thomas Yonge, Bishop elect of St. David's, dated Dec. 22, 1559. (Rymer xv, p. 553.) According to the register, he was consecrated Jan. 21 following. There is another similar grant to Richard Davys, elect of St. Asaph, dated Jan. 4, 1559 (as now reckoned, 1560). According to the register he was consecrated Jan. 21. They are each repeatedly styled "Episcopus electus"; and yet, although not yet consecrated, they by these deeds have lands and benefices made over to them as if they were. The inference is, that consecration was not considered of the first importance. Then, on the other hand, there is a precisely similar grant to Roland Meyrick, Bishop of Bangor, dated Dec. 30. But, according to the register he had been already consecrated on the 21st December. Yet in this document he, like Yonge and Davys, is repeatedly styled "Episcopus jam electus." What does all this indicate? That at that time nomination and election were considered of more importance than consecration.

In the register's account of the Lambeth consecration, the forgery of which I have exposed, Nicholas Bullingham is described as Archdeacon of Lincoln: he must have been at that date, Dec. 17, Bishop elect of Lincoln; for the *cong  d' lire* was issued Nov. 25.*

About the year 1570, these documents are more precise, and seem to recognize the distinction and importance of consecration. For instance, there is a grant *in Commendam* to Richard Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle, dated July 30, 1570. (Rymer, xv, p. 685.) He is repeatedly styled *Episcopus Carliolen*; but not like Meyrick of Bangor, "electus." And when Grindall was translated from London to York in 1570, the word "consecrare" in the royal assent was omitted, it was "per translationem confirmare;" (Rymer, p. 681); whereas, in the case of Curwin of Oxford, consecration, as we have seen, was spoken of. The same is to be said of the translation of Sandys from Worcester to London, 1570; and of Barnes, suffragan of Nottingham, translated to Carlisle, 1570; the phrase in the royal assent being "confirmare, et eundem auctorizare et investire." (Rymer, p. 684.) The same may be said of John Salisbury's translation, in 1570, from the suffragan See of Thetford to Sodor and Man. However, even after this, in 1573, I find that in the royal assent for William Hughes, a simple clerk, appointed to St. Asaph, it is not "consecrare" but "confirmare, auctorizare, et investire." (Rymer, 729.)

Now, why do I cite these facts? Because they all have a bearing upon the question of the register's account of Parker's consecration at Lambeth. They all

* This case of Bullingham is fully developed in a subsequent Letter, entitled "Parker's register rent in twain"; affording positive and irresistible evidence of forgery.

contribute at least to show the utter absurdity of supposing that the Gospellers of 1559 (at that date Puritans in principle, as I will show, and enemies of all ceremony whatever) were so stout for consecration as to record it in that minute and extraordinary account, the "*rituum et cæremoniarum ordo*," which, for frivolous particularizations, cannot be matched in the episcopal archives of the whole Catholic world. If, at a much later date, the ideas of the necessity of consecration were so unsettled and vague, how can we for one moment suppose that the Reformers of 1559, who, as we find from the *Zurich Letters*, objected to the simple surplice and cap, and only conformed even to that in obedience to the queen, should have recorded so minutely even the accessories of a rite which itself they considered unnecessary?—should have detailed, with such preciseness and such *gusto*, the dresses of the officiants, the scarlet (*coccinea*) cassock and capuce, the surplices, the silk copes, the "*crimera*" of black silk, the collar of most precious furs called "*sables*," the three distinct changes of dress during the function, the exact number of torches in the procession, the precise position of benches and chairs, of carpets, red cloth, and cushions? Why, the very title of the document, considering the date, is self-refuting, "*rituum et cæremoniarum ordo*." In fact, to my mind, the internal evidence of this precious document, produces as much conviction of fraud as the other direct proofs and demonstrations advanced in these letters.

As in this question of fraud and falsehood in the alleged consecration of Parker it is necessary to adopt the *ariete crebro* tactics, I will renew the charge on the present occasion by producing fresh evidence. This is required by the *vis inertiae* which education opposes to

the reception of a truth. When people have derived from the only sources with which their education has supplied them one unvarying account of a supposed fact, that account, too, tallying with their religious prepossessions and their temporal interests, it is not the first assault that will overthrow the previous belief, although that assault be nothing short of the demonstration of the non-existence of the fact. Education and religious bias combined, will often maintain a fight for a time with an ocular and even a mathematical demonstration. Voltaire was asked, if a dead man was raised from the grave before his eyes in testimony of Christian truth, would he believe? He replied, in the negative, "it might frighten me," said he, "it would not convert me." Something like this may be the case in the matter in question. The shocks of the *vaisseau bélier* have been repeated. Arguments most weighty have been directed against the enemy's defences. Proofs unanswerable have been produced from internal and external sources; proofs from Rymer's *Fœdera*; proofs from the manifest self-contradictions and inconsistencies of the various documents bearing upon Parker's alleged consecration; proofs from the non-production of the register for fifty years; from the silence of those, especially of Stow the friend and *protégé* of Parker, who would have taken delight in recording this most important fact; proofs, in fine, from contemporary testimonies of the most unexceptionable character, nullifying the valueless assertions of the post-Masonic defenders of Anglicanism. Perhaps, however, the foe does not surrender. I will, therefore, produce other important testimonies, Catholic and Protestant.

In addition to the Catholic contemporaries, Stapleton,

Harding, and Bristow, I will briefly quote two others. Sanders, speaking of the appointment of the first bishops, says—"Sine ullâ consecratione aliquot annos." (*Hist. Schism. Angl.* lib. 3, fol. 163.) And Osorius, called the Cicero of Portugal, says of them, "sine ullâ cæremoniâ consecrati." I quote this contemporary writer particularly, because being a bishop in Portugal, his testimony shows that this belief of their being unconsecrated was already prevalent in Europe.

The Protestant testimony I am about to quote is peculiarly important; not only as bearing on this question, but as throwing great light on the real character of the Elizabethan reformation at its commencement. I allude to the two volumes of *Zurich Letters* published by the Parker Society, containing the private correspondence of the leading and influential men among the reformers, those in fact who were masters of the situation; Grindall, Sandys, Jewel, Cox, Horn, Pilkington, Parkhurst, Bentham, all of whom were appointed bishops; as well as Fox, Lever, Sampson, Lawrence, Humphrey, and others. From all these there are numerous letters written to the Swiss reformers, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Hubert, Simler, Gualter, and Calvin. From these letters I will first show, by two or three quotations, that Parker was archbishop *before* December 17, the Lambeth date; in fact, as much archbishop as ever he was.

Well, here is a sentence from a letter of Jewel to Peter Martyr (p. 45, 1st series):—"Yesterday, as soon as I returned to London, I heard from *the Archbishop of Canterbury* that you are invited hither, and that your old lectureship is kept open for you." What is the date? *London*, Nov. 2, 1559, six weeks before Dec. 17!

Again, from a letter of Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, to Josiah Simler (p. 61):—"When I was lately in London, one of the Privy Councillors and *Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury*, threatened me with I know not what bishopric." This is dated from Bishop's Cleeve, in Gloucestershire, December 20, 1559, and refers to when he was in London; which, considering the distance, and how people travelled in those days, must certainly have been before the 17th.

In a letter from Jewel to Josiah Simler, dated Nov. 2, 1559, we read: "As to your expressing your hopes that our bishops will be consecrated without any superstitious and offensive ceremonies, you mean, I suppose, without oil, without the chrism, without the tonsure. And you are not mistaken." This is a faulty translation; the result of a foregone conclusion on the part of the Rev. Dr. Robinson, the editor. He renders it "*will be consecrated.*" I will give the original, and let your readers judge: "*Quod scribis, sperare te episcopos apud nos sine ullis superstitiosis et putidis cæremoniis inaugurari, hoc est, opinor, sine oleo, sine chrismate, sine novaculâ; nihil falleris. Frustra enim exhausta esset sentina, si istas reliquias pateremur in fundo residere.*" Now I contend that the obvious meaning of that word "*inaugurari*," is present time, not the future. Simler hopes the bishops *are* consecrated without ceremonies, etc. Jewel answers boldly, "Yes, we have done away with all that." What is the date of Jewel's letter? Nov. 2; and Simler's question must have been proposed at least a fortnight before. Besides "*inaugurari*" does not even mean consecration; to inaugurate, is not the same as to consecrate.

In answer to a letter of Peter Martyr, who had expressed his grief that no provision had been made for them, Jewel replies, "Nothing has yet been done; we only bear about the empty titles of bishops." The fact, indeed, was, that the bishops were at first very scantily provided for. The date of that letter is Nov. 5, 1559.

In another letter to Peter Martyr, dated London, Nov. 16, 1559, he says, "*Episcopi adhuc designati tantum sunt: interim prædia pulchrè augent fiscum.*" The word "designati" is not used as distinguished from consecration, but from possession of temporalities, as may be inferred from the context. The fact was that the queen had been empowered by her first Parliament to annex to the crown the manors, estates, and temporalities of the vacant bishoprics, and to give in exchange impropriations and tenths. The queen availed herself largely of this power, "proceeding roundly," says Strype, "in this business." The first appointed bishops endeavoured to dissuade her from seizing the episcopal possessions, and through Dr. Cox presented her a petition and a remarkable proposal, the nature of which is thus expressed: "We, bearing your majesty like good heart and zeal, as your honourable Parliament hath expressed, do offer towards the relief of your majesty's necessity the sums following, yearly to be paid out of the lands of our bishoprics Canterbury (Parker), £200; Ely (Cox), £200; London (Grindall), £100; Hereford (Scory), 100 marks; Chichester (Barlow), 100 marks." These were, then, Elizabeth's first bishops, the three first being those whom she had named as absolute bishops in the commission of Oct. 20; the two others having formerly been in possession of episcopal rank. This petition cer-

tainly could not have been presented later than September (See Strype, *Annals*, c. 6). Now, I ask, how could any mere nominee, not yet considered a bishop, presume to dispose thus of the episcopal revenues? Their doing so implies that at that date (three months before Dec. 17) these five were regarded as bishops, doing what no one less than a confirmed bishop could undertake to do. But according to Parker's register, not one of these was even confirmed before December. I will observe, moreover, that Jewel, in a previous letter, dated Aug. 1, 1559, uses the word "designati" when speaking of the first appointments to bishoprics, and enumerates them thus: "Cox to Ely, Scory to Hereford, Allen to Rochester, Grindal to London, Barlow to Chichester, and I, the least of the apostles, to Salisbury" (*Zurich Letters*, first series, p. 40). It is remarkable, however, that he omits Parker. This further tends to show that Parker's case was exceptional; and as this is the only bishop about whom my argument is concerned, my position respecting him remains untouched, even supposing there were any force in an argument derived from Jewel's expression, as affecting the other appointments.

These are a few of the passages of the *Zurich Letters*, which contribute to refute the story of the affair of Dec. 17:—added to the preceding array of incontrovertible facts, they complete a formidable phalanx, which no Anglican tactician, I ween, can penetrate and disperse.

These Zurich letters also cast a wonderfully clear light on the ideas which the reformers and framers of the Ordinal had of the priesthood, and on the character of the new foundation of 1559; and I invite the special attention of the High Church party to their contents,

written as they were by their "Fathers in the Faith." We shall here find the real Protestant principles on which the establishment was founded: principles which, *without the sole check of Elizabeth herself*, would have inaugurated unmitigated Puritanism; would have identified the religion of England with that of Zurich and Geneva; and have fraternized unconditionally with the Scotch Presbyterians. Who, at the present day, can claim to represent these reforming progenitors? Doubtless, the Evangelicals; succeeding as they do, their namesakes, the Gospellers: but even *they* are far more Churchmen than were the men of 1559. The Low party, as Protestants, are historically right: the High party, remaining Protestants, are historically wrong: the Tractarian and the "Anglo-Catholic" party, in proportion as they become theologically right, are by remaining connected with the low-establishment of 1559, and, by being proud of that connection, historically wrong, egregiously wrong. Let them read these Zurich letters, the faithful reflex of the opinions then in the ascendant, and they will be forced to confess that everything whatever which distinguishes the High from the Low, is a subsequent *reaction* upon the Reformation. Hundreds of proofs could be adduced. I will select one from Jewel, the favourite champion of the Anglican "Church." In a letter to Peter Martyr, dated Salisbury, Feb. 7, 1562, he writes:—"Now that the full light of the Gospel has shone forth, the very vestiges of error must, as far as possible, be removed together with the rubbish, and as the saying is, with the very dust. And I wish we could effect this in respect to that linen surplice; for, as to matters of doctrine, we have pared everything away

to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth." (Page 100.) Now the doctrines of Peter Martyr and the Zurichers were anything but High and Tractarian.

However, it is curious to observe, in reading the letters of later date, how those who became bishops, at least most of them, showed the effect which dignities and pre-eminence produced in them, by relaxing their former Puritanical ideas. The great dispute was about the habits—the square cap and the surplice. *All*, at first, were against the use of it, as being a rag of Popery—Jewel, as we have seen, among the rest. But the Queen insisted on their use, and the bishops conformed, though theoretically disapproving. They also—except, I think, Pilkington and Parkhurst—enforced the penalty of deprivation against those whose conscience had not been disenchanted by the possession of Episcopal power. See pages 161 and 181 ; second series. It was thus that a gradual ascent was commenced towards High Church principles, and the conflict with Puritanism was born.

Elizabeth, then, was, at first, the sole stay and prop of anti-Puritanism ; but surely our Anglican friends will not rest the cause of the Church on the mere will and authority of a temporal Sovereign. She, herself, was a Reformer, *sui generis*. Speaking in a worldly sense, the rigid exclusion of the power and authority of Rome, which had pronounced her illegitimate, was a necessity of her position. Those letters show how imperious she was in the government of the Church, and how irritated at opposition to her will. She even, in 1577, sequestered her once favourite Archbishop Grindall for not complying with her wishes in not putting down the

"prophesyings." And yet with all this attachment to many Catholic practices, her desires could not in many things prevail, such as the celibacy of the clergy, etc. This view of her character will corroborate the explanation I have given of the line of conduct she pursued in the affair of Parker's promotion; her Commission to Tunstall and others; on the failure of which, her proceeding to deprive the refractory commissioners by tendering the oath of supremacy, and her proclaiming, in a public document, Parker Archbishop of Canterbury.

From the Zurich letters, also, we have additional light thrown on the *intention* of the Reformers in conferring Orders according to the Ordinal of Edward VI. I do not intend to enter into the theological question of validity, for want of matter, form, and intention, by which, according to us, the ordinations thus made are null. I have glanced at this briefly in the first letter; but to pursue a question of theology in a newspaper would be tiresome to your readers; besides, Anglicans may dispute interminably on doctrine and theory, but they cannot on facts. The question of intention, however, is connected with fact.

The Reformers, then, by their Ordinal never intended to make a priest at all. What and who is a priest in the Catholic sense? One who has authority and power to *sacrifice*; "*ex hominibus assumptus, ut offerat dona et sacrificia pro peccatis*"; "*taken from among men, to offer gifts and sacrifices for sin*";—"quemadmodum sacerdotes, prius pro delictis suis hostias offerre, deinde pro populi"; "*as priests, to offer sacrifices first for his own sins, and then for the people's.*" The English word *priest*, I know, by its derivation does not strictly

mean this: coming, as it does, from the old French *prestre*, and that from *presbyter*, an elder. We have not, in fact, in our language the necessary word as a substantive; only the adjective *sacerdotal*. However, the general acceptation of the word "priest" connects it with sacrifice; it answers to the word *sacerdos*. Now, had the Reformers, the devisers of the Ordinal, the most remote intention of making such a priest? The very reverse. They abhorred the very idea. What is most conspicuous in the Zurich letters and the writings of the period as damnable of the Catholic religion? That the Pope is Antichrist; and that the Mass is the abomination of abominations. Hence the opprobrious epithets of mass-priests, mass-mongers (*sacrifici*), continually occur. Indeed, all the Reform writings of the period teem with abuse of the Holy Mass. Read the treatise of Thomas Becon—"The displaying of the Popish Mass"—also published by the Parker Society. Its blasphemous ribaldry is truly awful; the editor himself is sometimes ashamed of it, for he is obliged to suppress its filthy allusions. In fine, the word *priest*, in common parlance, became perfectly odious, and was not applied to Protestant ministers. Cecil himself, a great authority, on the occasion of the examination of Henry Barrow in 1586, said "the ministers now were not to be called priests." (Harleian Miscellany, vol. ii., p. 26.) Even down to the present time, how odious the name to many of our Protestant countrymen! If a priest discharges his duty, that is priestcraft; if his flock are guided by his counsels, they are priest-ridden.

The Reformers, then, by their Ordinal, had no intention of making a priest; of doing what the Church

does ; a priest, then, they did not make. They differ from Catholics not merely in degree, but in kind, *in genere*. A brick-maker, taking clay into his hands, does not intend to make a loaf of bread. A brick and a loaf are generically different ; the essence of a brick is clay, the essence of a loaf is grain. The difference is just as great in the case before us ; the essence of a priest is a commission to offer sacrifice ; the essence of a minister is—I scarcely know what. We will suppose, therefore, for a moment, that Parker was consecrated at Lambeth, and that Barlow was a real bishop ; still all is null, all is vitiated, by the absence, or rather contrariety of intention.

Such, then, "Anglo-Catholics," were the reformers who founded your Church ; and such, as long as you stand on their foundation, your fathers in the Faith. They are a different set from those whom the Bishop of Oxford, in his letter to Mr. Shaw the other day, called "our reformers." It was unworthy of him to appeal to an unauthoritative book, merely *ad captandum*. His quotation about auricular confession is from the FIRST BOOK of Edward VI, which Parliament abolished, which the real reformers condemned as rank Popery, and which Fuller says was drawn up only during the first twilight of the Gospel day. That book, published in 1549, was, in fact, still "commonly called the Mass." (Title page.) Compare now the *second* book, of 1552—that which regulates and binds the conscience of Dr. Wilberforce himself—look at the corresponding passage at the Communion Service ; there is nothing whatever mentioned about *auricular confession*, nor even *sin*, but only "grief" and trouble of conscience. The word "sin" *twice* occurs in the passage of the first book—it is purposely omitted in

the second. "Auricular confession" occurs in the first—it is pointedly omitted in the second: and the "caution not to be offended with them that use it" in the first, is also significantly omitted in the second: clearly showing that there was no more question about auricular confession. As to his expression of "deepest horror" of the Catholic practice, and "its tending fearfully to pollute the purity of family life," all I can say is, may God forgive him for the horrible imputation, and convert him. Let him know, however, that the practice of frequent confession is a most effectual means of preserving the mirror of a pure heart, undimmed by even the tarnish of an unholy breath.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court: Feast of the Dolours of B. V. M.

P.S.—I have read in this week's *Register* your remarks on the rumour "that a large number of tractarians have proposed to Rome their submission, on condition of an authoritative assertion of the nullity of Anglican Orders." I am truly sorry that you have given currency to the rumour; and I will tell you why. In the first place, I do not believe that there is any such concert between a large body of Anglicans; we certainly should have heard of it here in England. Possibly something might have been said by somebody to another somebody, and it might have been wrongly taken as an authorised communication from a body of Anglicans; and the rumour might thus have assumed the magnified proportions you mention. In the second place, supposing the rumour to have a certain foundation, I regard it as a delusion and a snare. It is an artifice of the enemy, to

make them dally. Of course, *if* the Holy See thought proper at once to grant their request, well and good. But do they really think that Rome will give a superfluous decision? There would probably arise many serious questions as to the *propriety* of giving a sentence on a long settled point. At all events, let them remember that Rome, in her wisdom, never acts in a hurry: her decisions on general questions are slow and deliberate: generations to her are like hours to others. Even, then, supposing that she will do such a thing, it may possibly not be before the year 1958. In the meantime, the expectant Tractarians die, and die Tractarians; they pass to their account. They wait and wait; till Rome speaks, they will consider it an open question, an unsettled point; and they die waiting! O! it is the old story of *Rusticus expectat*. Baneful, fatal procrastination! Here is an Anglican; he is resolved by the light and help of grace to take the final step, and sacrifice his temporal well-being to truth and his eternal salvation. The struggle is fierce: the devil whispers "wait;" his temporal interest says "wait;" poor nature cries "wait;" his family, his wife, haply, and little ones cry, imploringly, "wait." But no—he is resolved. Then comes, at last, this rumour—"Rome is going to pronounce." O, then, says he, I now *will* wait. It is just what poor nature wanted, a colourable pretext for waiting. He takes out a new lease; an unlimited lease of expectation. What will be the end of it? God knows.

It is something like the case of the Jansenists. They appealed to a future Council. There they are, and there they have been, during the last 200 years, hugging

themselves into a false peace ; trying to think their case an open question, to be decided by the next General Council ! In the meantime they pass into eternity, to the dread tribunal of the God of Truth.

But here is another point. No doubt, at the bottom of this proposal to Rome, there lurks a wish that there may be a *chance* of a favourable view of Anglican Orders. Otherwise, why wait one single moment ? Now, I will suppose an impossible event. I will suppose that Rome reverses her own decision in Dr. Gordon's case ; goes counter to her past universal practice, and decides that the Ordinal is valid as to matter and form. Well, she will have settled only *one-third* part of the question—the theological. There still will remain the two questions of fact—the consecration of Parker, and the episcopacy of Barlow. These lie beyond her province as an infallible judge. They are mere historical facts, which *we in England* have greater means and facilities of investigating than any one in Rome. The Church, by virtue of her Divine Commission, can judge of *dogmatical* facts ; as she did, for example, in the case of Jansenius's book "Augustinus." She first condemned five propositions extracted from the work ; and then, in opposition to the cavils of the Jansenists, affirmed the *fact* that the book contained them ; or, rather, by extracting the propositions, she *ipso facto* affirmed it. But the Church will never pronounce that Parker was consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559. So our Anglican friends, even after the supposed (impossible) decision in their favour, would be just what they are, and where they are—laymen in a schismatical and heretical communion.

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canonica ; prolemque inde susceptam et suscipiendam fuisse et fore legitimam." Mary was thus solemnly declared legitimate ; by consequence all other issue by another illegitimate. Now this decision was remarkable for many reasons. Clement VII had always been considered particularly well disposed towards Henry ; so much so, that when, on the death of Pope Adrian VI, he was elected, particular satisfaction was felt by the Court of St. James, for next to Wolsey himself he was the favourite candidate of Henry. This we learn from a letter of Wolsey, to be found at the end of his life by Fiddes. Henry also had made the most strenuous exertions, *per fas et nefas*, to obtain the acquiescence to his views of the whole Catholic world, of universities and learned theologians. He bribed on a most extravagant scale. Of this we have a curious illustration in a letter to Henry from Richard Croke, his agent in Italy. (Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd series, vol. ii, p. 167.) He writes from the University of Padua, where he tells us he had delivered to Friar Thomas twenty-three crowns, and then another sum to the same, amounting to forty-seven crowns. To Friars Franciscus and Dionysius also, seventy-seven crowns. To Friar Ambrose, twenty crowns. And for what ? To obtain from the theologians of Padua their signatures in favour of the divorce. Croke complains, however, that they took the money, and failed to perform their part of the contract. And why did Henry employ these unusual and costly expedients ? That he might, by the array of theological authorities, influence in his favour the decision of the Holy See. And yet, after all, comes the fatal Bull, crushing his hopes, and severely condemning him for his past conduct to his lawful wife.

But there was another Bull, if possible, still stronger. It was that of Paul III, drawn up in 1535, and at length promulgated, with additions, in 1538. It was a Bull of Excommunication against Henry for all his crimes, at the head of which stands this violation of the conjugal tie: "Eundem Henricum nobilissimam et lectissimam foeminam Catharinam conjugem suam legitimam, contra jus divinum et ecclesiæ prohibitionem indignissime dimisisse, et eâdem suâ conjugē vivente, cum quâdam Anna Bolena muliere Anglicanâ, matrimonium de facto contraxisse;" and further on, "*Omnem Henrici ex prædicta Anna Bolena sobolem, fautorumque suorum liberos jam natos aut nascituros . . . INFAMES esse decernit.*" (Dodd, vol. i, p. 295.) Elizabeth was the "soboles," she is declared "infamis." The Pope then directs, as the Bull would with difficulty be admitted into England, that it should be conspicuously posted on the church doors, and read from the pulpits in the neighbouring countries, specifying the cities of Tournay, Bruges, and Dunkirk. Well, then, that "Rome pronounced her illegitimate" is a very patent fact.

But what is my correspondent's authority for denying my assertion? He refers me to the *Dublin Review*, vol. ii. And what do I find? Nothing whatever that touches the question. I find the refutation of the story of Pope Paul IV's hostile and repulsive behaviour and speech to Carne the English ambassador on the occasion of his notifying the accession of Elizabeth. He has always been represented as having, on the occasion, declared with asperity that Elizabeth, being born out of wedlock, was a usurper, that she could consequently expect no countenance from Rome, that she must repent,

etc. Why, if even this account were true, I should never think of resting my allegation on so frail a basis. The private conversation, even of the Pope, does not constitute, in the sense in which I have employed the term, the pronouncement of Rome.

The story, however, turns out to be a fiction. The late Mr. Howard of Corby discovered among the state papers a letter from Carne to Elizabeth, giving a very different account of his interview with the Pope. He informs her majesty that the French intrigues to her prejudice had failed to make an impression on His Holiness, who had expressed, on the contrary, a favourable disposition in her regard. This letter certainly seems to discredit entirely the hitherto received account, an account accredited by Sarpi, Mezerai, Leti, and even by Pallavicino. The latter was the point-blank antagonist of Sarpi, who, I believe, first mentioned the story; and he had also far better opportunities of knowing the truth. As he adopted it, there might possibly be some slight foundation for an allusion, at least, to the blot in Elizabeth's birth. Carne was a courtier. He knew how to say pleasant things, and to disguise unpleasant things, in writing to his sovereign. This is apparent from the two letters which he wrote from Rome to Philip and Mary, and which may be seen in Burnet's *Collection of Records*. In the present instance he could not, neither indeed could any one in common delicacy, when writing to his queen, mention any allusion he may have heard to her extramatrimonial birth, however free from intended reproach that allusion may have been. The Pope, then, might very easily, very naturally—perhaps even as a point of duty—allude in friendly conference to the defect in her

birth; *e. g.*, he might incidentally say, that the circumstance of her birth would not induce him to oppose her, if the English nation accepted her for its sovereign. At all events, Paul IV most undoubtedly considered her to be illegitimate. He could not be opposed to three of his predecessors: to Julius II, whose dispensation gave a canonical sanction to the marriage of Henry with Catharine; and to Clement VII and Paul III, whose solemn decisions I have referred to.

Whatever the case be then as to that, it is a clear and palpable fact that Rome pronounced Elizabeth illegitimate in a much more authoritative manner than by the private conversation of a Pope, on which I never grounded my assertion. That Rome thus regarded her, no one was more sensible than Elizabeth herself. This, her conviction, furnishes a key to a right appreciation of her conduct in many respects, and of her views of reformation in particular. In conclusion, I will borrow from an author not to be recommended, but whose observations are often very shrewd, M. Bayle, the following observations on the conduct of Elizabeth. They accord entirely with the view I have propounded. The question was, as to which religion she should adopt, and he observes,—

“Elle comprit clairement qu’en demeurant Catholique, elle ne pourrait disconvenir qu’elle ne dût la couronne à une vraie usurpation, ou à une condescendance de la Cour de Rome, qui exposerait tous les jours son trône à mille disputes. Etant Catholique, elle devoit confesser que le divorce de son père avec Catherine d’Arragon étoit nul, et qu’ainsi Anne Boleyn n’avait pu être que la concubine de Henri VIII. Or, dans les Monarchies héréditaires un bâtard ne peut exclure la parenté légitime

sans renverser une loi fondamentale, et par conséquent, sans devenir un usurpateur. Il fallut donc qu'Elizabeth abandonnât l'Eglise Romaine, à fin de pouvoir soutenir que la cour de Rome avait tort de condamner le mariage d'Anne Boleyn. Mais outre cela, son esprit si pénétrant lui faisait trop bien connaître la situation des affaires générales, pour la laisser un moment en doute, qu'en se déclarant contre le Pape, elle mettroit dans ses intérêts tous les Protestants de l'Europe." (Article Elizabeth. Note F.)

Yours, faithfully, in Christ,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court: St. Francis of Assisium.

P.S.—The Bishop of Oxford has come out again on Confession, in a letter to the Boyne Hill Commissioners. He has trimmed his sails, and to a certain extent has corrected that misleading reference to "our Reformers," which I pointed out in my last. But even now, there lurks an artifice, not at all befitting his position. He connects together the services for the Visitation of the Sick, and for Communion: thus allowing the natural inference that the "special confession of sin" authorised by his Church, is the same in the one as the other: whereas, I have clearly shown, by the comparison of the two Books of Edward VI., that as to communion, she distinctly and unmistakably, by the alterations and omissions in the second Book, discarded the use of "auricular confession of sin" before Communion.

He talks of "the wisdom and tenderness of the Church" in affording "this special and limited provision for troubled souls." Tenderness indeed! I would ask

him—has Jesus Christ left to His Priesthood the power of absolving from sin, or has He not? Possibly, as a High Churchman, he may answer in the affirmative. Then what Christ has provided, shall men restrict? Christ has provided a most unspeakable blessing, to be had at any time. Dr. Wilberforce's Church steps in and says, No! No one shall receive that blessing but at the point of death—when he can sin no longer—when his fears are probably purely servile—when his senses and intelligence are stupefied by the mist of death—when having probably put off repentance to the last awful moment, his heart remains unchanged, and his death-bed repentance becomes a terrible sham—then, and *then only*, will she use the gracious power, which by the very words of the Absolution she acknowledges our Lord has conferred upon the Church:—then only, when from the state of the dying man's unconverted heart the sacramental words become a mere empty sound, will she show herself to be a "tender" mother!—I would ask, is absolution from sin of no use in health? is it no blessing in life? "Tenderness in providing" forsooth!—say rather, sacrilege in robbing; cruelty in starving; dead-heartedness in allowing her own children to pine and to perish!

At the same time, I quite agree with his Lordship that "our clergy" (his) could never attempt successfully to administer this healing balm to their parishioners. A married Protestant clergy could never command the necessary confidence; nor possess the necessary disengagement. "He that is with a wife, is solicitous for things of the world, how he may please his wife; and he is divided" (1 Cor. ii, 33.) An unmarried Protestant

clergyman, also, is, as a general rule, perfectly unfitted. He is usually a Cœlebs in search of a wife ; a pursuit attended with difficulties and distractions, for it is a stream, we are told, "that never runs smooth ;" a pursuit most sadly interfering with the efficiency of his ministry, with the spiritual-mindedness of his thoughts, and in many ways with a pastoral intercourse with *souls* : a pursuit, in fine, often attended, as Protestants themselves have experienced and testified, with much disedifying gossip ; sometimes even with scandal. To such the holy and delicate function of a director of souls must ever be most unsuited and uncongenial. It is very true, therefore, that the idea of introducing auricular confession into the Establishment is most visionary : and those estimable Anglicans, who have some glimmering of right notions on the subject, may rest assured, that the great body of the Protestant clergy—*remaining Protestants*—will never admit it ; and that the great body of the Protestant public will never stand it.

J. W.

LETTER XIV.

DR. LINGARD.

SIR,—As I am about to comment on an important mistake of Dr. Lingard, I begin with avowing my sentiments in his regard. An alumnus of St. Cuthbert's, I am of course proud of my college; proud also of him who, by his learning, his scholarship, and his historical pre-eminence, has reflected so bright a lustre upon that college. Added to this, I have personal grounds for cherishing his memory with special regard and honour, inasmuch as in a friendly correspondence which, some years since, passed between us, I had ample proof of the genial kindness of his heart. I say not this in the spirit of egotism; but that it may be manifest that, in combating what I believe to be his erroneous opinions, I am actuated by higher motives than human friendship; namely, a sense of duty, a reverence for truth, and even a concern for the salvation of souls. Yes; as I have undertaken to discuss this subject, I consider it my duty not to mar my work by withholding, from personal considerations, what I deem to be an effective argument; I consider also reverence for truth a paramount obligation; I consider, too, that the question I am treating is closely connected with the interest of souls.

The more we study this matter, the more we shall find

that there is little progress made in arguing with our Anglican countrymen on the *quæstio juris*, on the invalidity of their Orders from defect of matter and form. This suffices for us Catholics ; we know that their Ordinal is radically defective. But our friends will dispute on that ground for ever. The field of battle where victory may be crowned with substantial results, even a surrender at discretion, is the question of fact. Now, Dr. Lingard's opinions, backed by his weight and authority have, I think, contributed materially, and therefore mischievously, to strengthen the position of our opponents. If, then, his opinions can be refuted, and the questions about Barlow and Parker decided in an adverse sense, surely St. Peter's ship would rescue many from the danger of shipwreck ; and surely every sincere Catholic would rejoice at the result, although at the expense of an *unlimited* confidence in Lingard's historical accuracy.

Neither is it, to a competent observer, a disparagement to a historian to be found tripping on certain points, inasmuch as it is not in human nature to attain to historical perfection, or historical infallibility. There never was a history written, except the inspired, which would bear a close scrutiny as to the accuracy of every fact. Sir Walter Raleigh, when in prison and writing his *History of the World*, supplies us with an interesting remark founded on the opposite versions of a fact which passed before his eyes. Give me, then, a historical microscope ; that is, give me a special opportunity and means of examining minutely any given point of any history whatever, and I would find statements at variance with the fact, though as a whole the history might be most faithful and trustworthy. In the case before us,

though by the side of Lingard I can unaffectedly say that I am as a pigmy to a giant, I think it not presumptuous to claim an equality, for I have taken the microscope, and concentrated my vision upon one particular spot. The result is, I discover flaws which have escaped his usually penetrating ken. I have taken his authorities, Rymer especially, and I detect oversight and inconsistencies in this matter of Anglican Orders.

I will remind you, too, in passing, that Lingard is opposed to all our Catholic divines, from Harding, Bristow, and Stapleton, the contemporaries of Parker, down to the illustrious Milner. They were as learned and holy as himself; many of them enjoying much better opportunities of knowing, some indeed of seeing, the truth. Most of them believed what Dr. Lingard is so fond of styling the "Nag's Head foolery." A foolery indeed it was, if a fact; but the impression conveyed by Lingard's tone and expression is, that those are very foolish who believe it, and that is a very different question. In adhering, then, to Lingard, we condemn this long array of Catholic champions, of credulity and injustice.

After this preliminary matter I call your attention to the error in question. You perhaps remember that I have in two or three of my former letters attached great importance to the royal commission of October 20, 1559, two months before the Lambeth affair, addressed "to the Most Reverend Father in God, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury," and others; by which he was invested with certain powers, and in which he is styled absolutely Archbishop of Canterbury not less than five times in the same letter, and is thus addressed by the fountain of honour, and the "Head of the Church"—the queen.

The document bears the authentic warrant, "Per ipsam Reginam." (Rymer, xv, p. 547.) In my fifth and sixth letters, after refuting Dr. Lingard's other mistaken views, I expressed my astonishment that he had entirely overlooked the existence of this important Commission. Since then, I have seen his *last* letter on the subject, dated December, 1834. In this, he at length alludes to it. And how? You shall see.

"Hence (from this document) it appears that they were at that time consecrated bishops. Now it is true that there is such a commission of the date of Oct. 20, but not of the date of 1559. It has no date of the year. By what mistake it has been intermixed among the letters patent of the first of Elizabeth I know not; but it evidently belongs to the second. Such mistakes occur occasionally in Rymer."

In reading this, I could scarcely believe the testimony of my eyes. It is simply a gratuitous and most unfounded assertion. In making so astounding a declaration he, by all the laws of logic and controversy, should have taken upon himself the *onus probandi*, for the *prima facie* evidence is dead against him. Instead of this, he sways his historical sceptre by an absolute *ipse dixi*; in face of an adverse fact, he opposes an unsupported and peremptory denial; instead of unravelling the Gordian knot, as the Alexander of history, he cuts it. If this principle of a simple negative counterbalancing direct positive evidence were admitted, there would be nothing certain, all testimony would be subverted, and downright Pyrrhonism in history would be the logical result.

"Not of the date of 1559. It has no date of the

year." "It evidently belongs to the second." Now let us test those assertions. The fifteenth volume of Rymer now lies before me. The document itself, pp. 546 and 547, is under my eye. It comes, as to its date, in regular order. At the top of the page we find, "A.D. 1559, 1 Eliz. Reg." The date of the year is again specially affixed to the margin of the document itself, and, in fact, is an extract from the original, as well as the body of the letter. It stands thus: "A.D. 1559. *Ibid.*" The "ibid" refers to the previous document, which is thus dated in the margin: "A.D. 1559. *Pat. 1 Eliz., p 2, m 3, dor.*" The year is not *incorporated* in the text, only the day of the month. But this at that period was universally the case, except in treaties and conventions with foreign nations. I have turned over the pages of this very volume of Rymer, beginning with this document, till I am tired, with the view of discovering the date of the year in the body of any instrument; not a single instance have I found, with the exception of a treaty with Scotland. This search has included, too, *all those writs and letters patent to which Lingard himself has referred.* So his unwarranted assertion recoils with threefold force on himself. Therefore, besides pointing out their spuriousness, I might have retorted and said, the date of the year is not given; it is all a mistake, those writs belong to the following year.

"It evidently belongs to the second." Not a bit of it. On the face of it, it evidently belongs to the first. What is its object? It is to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury to administer the oath of supremacy to bishops and ecclesiastics, with a view to the deprivation of recusants. Now, all this was going on in the first

year of Elizabeth. In fact there had already been appointed a similar commission, dated 23rd May, 1559, exclusively composed of laymen,—the Lord Privy Seal, the Marquises of Winchester and Northampton, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, Bedford, and Pembroke. This seems, from the language of the present document, to have met with difficulties in dealing with ecclesiastics, and therefore this new commission was named, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is evident that it was necessary to meet the difficulty long before the date of Oct. 20, 1560. This, as her reign commenced Nov. 1558, would have been nearly two years from her accession.

What I have advanced is amply sufficient for a refutation, *satis superque*. But now comes the *coup de grâce*, indubitable, decisive.

I asked myself, Cannot I find from *internal evidence* that 1559 is the date of the document? After a slight inspection, I found what I sought. One of the commissioners associated with the archbishop, and named in the commission, was Dr. May, "Willielmo Maye, Legum Doctori." Dr. May was a conspicuous promoter of the "Reformation," under Edward VI. Under Elizabeth he was restored to the deanery of St. Paul's, and subsequently to the date of this commission (in May or June, 1560), elected to the Archbishopric of York. But he died before consecration. What is the date of his death? Aug. 8, 1560! There is no doubt about that date. We read in Strype, "Anno 1560, William May, LL.D., aforesaid, a very wise man, and made much of in King Edward's time for the Reformation, was elected Archbishop of York; but dying Aug. 8, before he was consecrated,

was buried in St. Paul's Church, Aug. 12" (*Annals*, p. 200, ed. 1709). In Le Neve's *Fasti* we read: "William May, LL.D., restored to this dignity (Dean of St. Paul's), was re-elected June 23, 1559. He died Aug. 8, 1560, and was buried in the Quire of this cathedral" (p. 185.) So that, if Lingard be right, and Oct. 20, 1560, be the proper date, Elizabeth must have appointed a commissioner who had been more than two months cold in his grave! Can there be a more crowning and irrefragable disproof?

My argument, therefore, against the Lambeth affair with its register, derived from this Commission to Parker, emerges from the obscuration of Lingard's denial—like the sun from a dark cloud—brighter than ever. It derives additional force from this utter failure. For he *admits* the Commission; he disputes not the evidence it gives of the absoluteness of Parker's episcopacy at that date; "hence it appears," says he, "that they were at that time consecrated bishops." If any other better argument could have been urged against it than the weapon which has broke in his hand, Lingard was the man to discover it, and to wield it with effect. Again and again, then, I ask, how can this Commission be reconciled with that (unauthenticated) letter, in which the same Queen, in the month of December following, directs certain persons to make "Master Matthew Parker, Professor of S. Theology," Archbishop of Canterbury! (*Magistrum Mattheum Parker, Sacræ Theologiæ Professorem*.)

I will here observe that, besides this Commission, there is another official document which styles Parker absolutely Archbishop of Canterbury.—"Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus"—before the date of the Lambeth affair,

December 17th. It is a patent from the Herald's College, permitting him to make an addition to his arms, dated November 28th, 1859. (See Strype's Parker, bk. i, c. 10.)

I could, if your space permitted it, touch upon the other topics discussed in his last letter. They have, however, been mostly disposed of already in these columns. There is one point, to which he attaches weight, to which I will advert, though substantially met before. I quote his words—"The entry of the consecration is written with the same hand with the rest—aye, even with ink of the very same colour and consistency. On the comparison, no difference can be discovered. Is it possible to conceive internal evidence more complete than this?" Quite possible. All my proofs point to fraud in the register. The entries were, then, either *re-written*, in order to introduce the false account of his consecration more easily; or all were collected together at a subsequent date, and inserted in the register—that is, documents of different dates were lying in the episcopal archives, but not entered collectively in a book till a later occasion. Something like this, I am persuaded, was the case. In fact, I have shown from the evidence of the register itself that the documents connected with Parker's consecration, were written after his death. See Letters VIII and IX. The blunders also of the scribe—particularly the *nunc* and *tunc* blunder which I pointed out in Letter VIII—demonstrate a posthumous arrangement, or concoction.

There is evidence, also, in *Cranmer's Register*, that its entries were, in some cases at least, made long after the event. I will produce an instance. Hooper's consecration is registered *between* Ferrar's (fol. 327) and

Poynet's (fol. 331.) This is the entry for Hooper :—
"Johannes Hooper consecr. Episcopus Gloucest. 8 Martii 1550, a Thoma Cantuariensi, Nicolao Londinensi, et Joanne Roffensi." Now Poynet was consecrated nine months *before* Hooper, namely 29 June, 1550 : for we must remember that March 8, 1550, would be for us who adopt the Julian year, March 8, 1551. There cannot be a mistake about this entry, for both Le Quien and Clerophilus Alethes have extracted it. Richardson, too, who is more accurate than his often inaccurate author Godwin, gives the date March 8, 1550. Now this proves to a demonstration that the entries could not have been made at the time. How is the misplacement to be explained? Very simply, by supposing a later period. At the date in question, the Anglican Church computed the beginning of the year from March 25. After a lapse of years, she conformed to the Julian computation, and began the year on the 1st January. At this period, the scribe employed, seeing that Hooper was consecrated on March 8, 1550, ignorantly concluded that that date necessarily preceded June 29, 1550 : and he registered accordingly.

I have already detected errors in Percival's "Apology," (see letter X,) and intend in my next to take exception to other points in his work. As to this particular entry of Hooper, also, he is anything but trustworthy. In his list of consecrations, ostensibly extracted from the Register, for he refers to its pages, he places Poynet before Hooper : he numbers Poynet 41, Hooper 42, and refers the entry of Poynet to fol. 330, and that of Hooper to fol. 332. Of course, then, according to Perceval, Hooper occurs after Poynet in the Register.

Now, I cannot doubt the correctness of the extracts in *Le Quien* and *Clerophilus*. Richardson refers also to a different page from Perceval for Hooper's entry, namely 331. If Perceval be right as to his rectification of the order, then the Register has been again *doctored*. Perceval also assigns the same day for the consecration of Poynt and Hooper—June 29, 1550, and he gives as one of the assisting bishops at Hooper's consecration "John Rochester;" that is, John Poynt himself! (Perceval's *Apology*, p. 173, 1st. ed.) I am quite willing, however, to suppose this to be an error of the press.

There is one more point on which Lingard dwells with some force: namely, Sampson's letter to Peter Martyr (not Bullinger, as he says), dated Jan. 6, 1550, which, according to him, indicates the time of Parker's consecration as occurring between Nov. 16 and Jan. 6. "From Nov. 16 to Jan. 6," he says, "we meet with no letter." He is mistaken. The whole series of the Zurich letters had not then been published. There are two other letters between those dates: another of Jewell to P. Martyr, dated Dec. 1; and one from Parkhurst to Simler, dated Dec. 20; and from which I quoted in Letter XII. But there is a fallacy in his argument. Had the letter of Nov. 16 been Sampson's also, there might have been some force in the argument that the letter of Nov. 16 does not allude to the consecration of Parker, and that of Jan. 6 does. But that letter is not Sampson's—it is Jewel's. There is no previous letter of Sampson's in the lately published collection, later than one dated Strasburgh, Dec. 17, 1558; although, from the answer of Peter Martyr to

him, I find that he had written one in October, which Martyr received at the same time as that of Jan. 6. That letter seems to have been lost. When, therefore, Sampson says, "the consecration of some bishops has *already* taken place," it *by no means* necessarily refers to the month of December. There is really nothing even to show that he did not allude to the Nag's Head affair; for he speaks with no reverence of consecration. Speaking of the others, he says, "*sunt isti consecrandi (ut nostro utar vocabulo.)*"*

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court :

Patronage of our Blessed Lady, 1858.

* There is another distinguished Catholic divine, whom Le Courayer and others have endeavoured to represent as admitting the validity of Anglican Orders—Bossuet; but without foundation. They ground themselves on a letter to Mabillon, in which Bossuet expresses himself to this effect:—"As to succession at the commencement of the schism, Anglicans maintain there is no difficulty, and it seems they are right in that." In passing, I will observe that Parker's accession was not the commencement of the schism. What, however, does he add? "That depends upon the facts" (*cela depend des faits*). He here acknowledges his own imperfect acquaintance with the facts, and consequently disavows all pretension to be an authority in the matter. In fact, we find that Bossuet's field of research as to the facts of the English schism was limited. It is very remarkable, that in the excellent work, the *History of the Variations*, the sole author to whom he refers as to English matters, is the author whom he refutes—Burnet. He takes his facts from Burnet, at the same time that he uses his penetration to detect and expose his unsound principles. I admit that, in the passage quoted, he evinces a desire to find it possible to allow the validity. And so it *was* desirable. And we must bear in mind the date and circumstances of that

LETTER XV.

PERCEVAL'S APOLOGY FOR THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

SIR,—I confess to you a great weakness ; perhaps it is a mental idiosyncrasy. I intended to send you a concluding letter ; but as often as I attempted it, so numerous and tumultuous was the crowd of yet unrecorded facts presenting themselves for insertion, that, like eager sight-seers jamming up the entrance of an exhibition in their strife for admission, they have blocked up memory's avenue, and put me in a fix. I consequently laid down my pen. And it is only on my consenting to give them yet another opportunity, that they submit to form a *queue*, and wait their turn.

letter. It was written April 12, 1685, shortly after the accession of James II to the English crown. James II *had consulted* Bossuet on the most advisable steps to be taken as to bringing about Catholic unity. A valid Anglican hierarchy was, therefore, most desirable. Bossuet, however, afterwards had decided convictions of its invalidity. When consulted by Abbé Le Grand as to whether in his answer to Burnet, on the *History of the Divorce*, he should style him "Bishop of Salisbury, he dissuaded him, with the observation "*nous ne connaissons pas cet évêcat là*"—"we do not recognize that episcopate." But supposing, even, that Bossuet really admitted the validity, his authority placed in the scale would not possess the slightest power to counterbalance the weight of the whole Catholic world.

I have already pointed out some of Perceval's unaccountable slips. I proceed, at greater length, to detect and expose his errors, his unfounded assumptions, and certain unqualifiable statements. The reason why I select his book for refutation is because it has, I believe, great weight with Anglicans; not, I presume, for any extraordinary force of argument, which in fact it has not, but for his having had access to the Lambeth registers, and his publishing in the appendix the names and dates of all the Anglican bishops from the time of Archbishop Warham. Of course, the abstract doctrine of apostolical succession in Christ's Church is divine truth, and he is right in proving it. But in the appendix, where he labours to vindicate for the Anglican establishment this essential mark of a true Church, he is sadly at fault. "The reader," says he, "will find below a full collection of records, down to the present time, by which every clergyman in England may trace his episcopal genealogy to Archbishop Warham" (page 113, 1st ed.). And indeed he produces a most imposing array of names, occupying some sixty pages, besides a large folding leaf: a splendid chain of succession, drawn out for the admiration and comfort of churchmen. Aye, Mr. Perceval; but there is one little link broken, and that severs altogether the connection! That single link is—"Matthew Parker, consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559." This, as we have seen, is a *broken* link. What avail, then, these hundreds of concatenated names, these acres of pages of episcopal pedigree? All this reminds me forcibly of a fact which at this moment is arresting the attention of the world—the flaw in the Atlantic cable. There it is, that wonderful production of enterprise and science; stretching for

two thousand miles through the deep sea, all sound and entire, possibly, except in one particular spot; but on that account all useless and lost through this one break, euphoneously called a "kink". This, I suppose, is a twist, exposing the wire to corrosion and the loss of its conducting power. The analogy, it seems to me, is strikingly apt. The conducting power of episcopacy is lost at that particular spot. Parker's case, decidedly, is the kink of the Anglican succession. We will now proceed to consider Perceval's bungling attempt to splice it.

How does he record this particular fact? Why, in a way which I leave others to qualify. He gives it in a tabular form thus:—

No.	Name of Bishop.	Name of Sec.	Date of Consecration.	Names of Consecrators.
47	Matthew Parker, Parker's Register, fol. 10.	Canterbury.	Dec. 17, 1559.	{ Wm. Chichester. John Hereford. John Bedford. Miles late Exeter.

As he gives the reference (fol. 10), we must naturally suppose that this is a transcript, or at least a substantial extract, from the register. Now, is the register so unblushingly *impudent* as to give Barlow's and Scory's names as signed Bishops of Chichester and Hereford respectively, when in its own immediately preceding pages, and in the "rituum ordo", it has described them as Bishops-elect of Chichester and Hereford? What! Barlow sign himself Bishop of Chichester by virtue of an alleged Royal Commission (of Dec. 9) which styles him bishop-elect, and by virtue of which he acts? Sign himself Bishop of Chichester when, the day *after*, the Queen

issues a writ—which Anglicans at least admit—commanding Parker to confirm and consecrate him Bishop of Chichester? Does Mr. Perceval, in his consciousness that a bishop-elect and unattached is not properly qualified to consecrate an archbishop, venture to mutilate and misrepresent an official record? I cannot believe that the register has thus consigned the fact: if it has, verily it flounders in fraud and forgery.

I again draw your attention to the Queen's writs, which are dated Dec. 18—one day after Parker's alleged consecration—by one of which she directs Parker to *consecrate* Barlow—that is, the consecrated to consecrate his consecrator; the son to beget his father. (See Rymer, vol. xv, p. 550.) The words are distinct—"electionemque prædictam confirmare, et eundem Magistrum Willielmum Barloo Episcopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ CONSECRARE." The same form is repeated in the writ to Scory for Hereford (p. 551); the same as for the others—Sandys for Worcester, Davys for St. Asaph, and Meyrick for Bangor. And it is very remarkable there are no writs for Grindall and Cox. The fact is, they were associated as absolute bishops with Parker in that important commission of Oct. 20. This omission throws a further light on that important document. Le Courayer says these words were inserted through the blunder of the secretary. No such thing. They are too distinct and drawn out to be an oversight. If the writs be genuine, they show either that Barlow *was* in consequence consecrated, or that the gossellers of 1559 had the most loose or contemptuous notions of consecration altogether—such as Barlow himself is known to have held.*

* The Oxford editor of Bramhall (*Anglo-Catholic Library*) says

In passing, I will here note several extraordinary instances of Perceval's ignorance. He places the consecration of Ridley in Henry's reign (p. 173)—it was in Edward's. He says that at the accession of Elizabeth, Barlow *had been* Bishop of Chichester; and, what is more astonishing, that Scory had been Bishop of Bath and Wells—with which he never had any connection whatever! (p. 175.) He does not know the name of the notorious De Dominis; for in the list of bishops whose names and surnames he gives at page 220, he writes "Mark — Abp. Spalatro." Of course, this in itself is not of great consequence; but when a man undertakes to discuss a question thoroughly, this want of knowledge of things connected with it renders him untrustworthy.

So much for his errors, both qualifiable and unqualifiable. Now for his unwarranted assumptions. At page 176, appendix, he says, that "the authority of the Bishop of Rome had been duly and canonically renounced by the Church of England." In the first place, he omits to show that the primacy of St. Peter's successors is not our Lord's institution; for, if it is, nothing can be canonical which sets it aside. I would ask him, supposing the State were to abolish Episcopacy, would it be uncanonical to obey a bishop? In the second place, he forgets that the Bishop of Rome—even *supposing* his universal primacy a usurpation—was always the Patriarch of the Anglican Church; his

that the passage is corrected in the second edition of Rymer. I was not aware there was a second edition in England. Where is it to be met with? And where is the proof that the correction is true?

consent, therefore, according to the Canons and the Council of Ephesus, was necessary at the appointment of an Archbishop. But in the third place, supposing it *could* be canonically renounced, I deny the fact; and I ask, how, where, when? Was it under Henry VIII? What? Can Mr. Perceval gravely assert that the consent of the clergy was free, and therefore canonical? that they spontaneously renounced the authority of Rome? Well: they certainly did renounce it—just as a waylaid traveller, with a highwayman's blunderbuss at his head, renounces the contents of his purse. Henry's blunderbuss, charged to the muzzle with Præmunire, was levelled at their head, and they renounced their treasure—union with the see of Rome. Even so, however, they expressed the constraint under which they acted by the clause "*quantum per legem Christi licet*," "*as far as it is allowed by the law of Christ*." This, however, would not content the tyrant: he urged and he bullied; he fumed and he threatened; till by the enactment Hen. 25, they were commanded, under the penalty of Præmunire—indeed, were made to swear in *verbo sacerdotis*—not to adopt any measure in Convocation without the express permission of the sovereign. And, this, forsooth, was the canonical consent of the clergy; say rather, the cannonical assault of the tyrant.

From that day, dates the slavery of the Anglican Church; she became a chained captive at the foot of the throne. With the exception of the few years of Mary's reign, and the few first months of Elizabeth's, down to this very day she lies in this helpless, shackled, prostrate attitude. What a farce, for instance, is the present meeting of Convocation! What can they do

that evinces the least exercise of Synodal authority? Let them enact an ecclesiastical law, if they dare! Now mark the contrast with Catholic times. Let them, for example, open *Lyndwood's Provinciale*, and mark the force and authority of the episcopal decrees, with the penalties and censures annexed to their violation. "Statuimus; firmiter præcipiendo mandamus; sub tali poenâ injungimus." Let them even examine the mode and force of synodical action of the Catholic Church in England at the present day; let them inquire as to the plenitude of authority which the decrees of the Two Councils of Oscott possess, and even the laws of our diocesan synods, and they will discover the same evidence of ecclesiastical life and vigour. Then let them return to the Jerusalem Chamber on the opening of Parliament, and witness the child's play, the talk, the vox et præterea nihil, the resultless discussions, eventuating at the most in an humble petition to a lay and sovereign Parliament, including the Baron Rothschild.* Let them, I say, just try to *legislate* on spiritual things, as becometh bishops "whom the Holy Ghost has placed to RULE the Church of God" (Acts 20-28.) Let them agree upon some point, and boldly say like our bishops of old—"we thus decree; we thus forbid, under pain of suspension or otherwise." Let them, for instance, say—"we forbid divorce *à vinculo*; and we declare it to be contrary to God's law"—and lo! Victoria's sceptre, with one graceful sweep,

* Since the above was written, two more Jews, a Rothschild and a Salomons, have taken their seats in the House. And as Jews abound in wealth, and there are so many venal boroughs, what is to prevent a whole legion of Hebrews from invading the legislature, and thus becoming "the arbiters of doctrine"?

will lay them prostrate like a set of nine pins. Who would suppose that Perceval, or any churchman, would vaunt a system which established this state of bondage?

But it seems that Perceval alludes, also, to the commencement of Elizabeth's reign as the renewed occasion of renouncing the authority of Rome. Bonner, he says, was incapacitated for interfering with an archiepiscopal appointment—first, for his having been “instrumental in the murder of his Archbishop;” and, secondly, for adhering to the authority of Rome. Now, as to Cranmer, let him remember that he was tried and found guilty of high treason; and then canonically deprived. He ceased, therefore, to be metropolitan. He was then tried for heresy, and condemned to die by the existing law of the State. The act “*de hæretico comburendo*” of Henry IV, modified by the 25th Henry VIII, was put in force by the secular arm. The question of its propriety is not for me here to discuss; that he was *legally* put to death is clear, and it is simply ridiculous to say that Bonner was guilty of the murder of his metropolitan. What does Mr. Perceval say to two of Elizabeth's bishops—Edwin Sandys, of London, and Edmund Guest, of Rochester—in the year 1575, consigning two unfortunate Anabaptists, John Peters and Henry Turwert, to the secular arm to be burned at the stake by this very act? Cranmer, assuredly, was as great a heretic as these poor men, and they deserve a memorial as much as he. See in *Rymer* (vol. xv, p. 740), the royal warrant for their execution, and the definite sentence of this Reformation dove, Sandys, Bishop of London, in which he condemns them, “*super nefando crimine Hæreseos,*” and decrees

that they are "tanquam oves morbidas a grege Domini ejiciendos et eliminandos."

Bonner, then, contracted no censure or disqualification. He was the rightful Bishop of London at the accession of Elizabeth; nay, more, during the vacancy of the archiepiscopal chair, he was, by the privilege of the See, the *locum tenens* in the assembly of the bishops; he was, as Chamberlayn says, *Decanus Provincialis*. In fact, he never had ceased to be Bishop of London. His deprivation in Edward's reign was the merest act of tyrannical oppression. He was appointed to preach before a set of commissioners, and the subject was enjoined him, like a schoolboy's theme. These commissioners, Cranmer, Ridley, Dr. May, Sir W. Petre, and Sir Thomas Smith, were determined to entangle him. On the most frivolous and most unfounded pretext they pronounced a sentence of deprivation. See the whole affair, with tolerable fairness, related in Collier (Vol. ii, pp. 278 *et seq.*) Burnet himself can find no cause for his deprivation but "silence" as to Edward's authority during his nonage (Vol. ii, Part 2, p. 463, ed. 1825 in Appendix.) Now, Bonner distinctly and expressly professed the obligation of obedience to Edward, though a minor.

Bonner, undoubtedly, in the eyes of Catholics, had acted schismatically, like the rest of the bishops, in Henry's reign; but all that was repaired during the reign of Mary. At the advent of Elizabeth, Cardinal Pole being dead, he was the canonical leader of the episcopate, and the foremost man in the province of Canterbury, as Heath was in the province of York. It is truly, then, a whimsical idea on the part of Perceval to assert that Bonner was "incapacitated" from voting or

co-operating in the archiepiscopal appointment. In fact, the whole hierarchy was left by Mary free, and with power to act in ecclesiastical matters, legally and canonically. We have the testimony of Fuller himself as to the legal exercise of the powers of convocation at this juncture. Speaking of the articles drawn up by the Lower House of Convocation, 1st Elizabeth, and assented to by the two universities, he says "These articles, copied by me out of the original are the last in this kind that were ever represented in England by a LEGAL corporation in defence of the Popish religion." (Lib. 9, 54). One of those articles stands thus—"4. Item quod Petro Apostolo et ejus legitimis successoribus in sede Apostolicâ tanquam Christi Vicario data est suprema potestas pascendi et regendi Ecclesiam Christi militantem, et fratres suos confirmandi." "4. Also, that to Peter the Apostle and his lawful successors in the Apostolic See was given the supreme power of feeding (the flock) and ruling Christ's Church militant, and confirming their brethren." There, Mr. Perceval, that is the last dying echo of a free Convocation. But all was quashed by the civil power. In spite of bishops, in spite of Convocation, in spite of universities, the secular arm was stretched forth. The Queen and Parliament—and William Cecil—and *none* other, in the year of grace 1559, established your present Erastian system, ycleped the Church of England; the secular arm, and none other, laid its foundation-stone.

And yet, strange to say, Mr. Perceval accuses *us* of resting on the civil power in Mary's reign. "The bishops," says he, "were intruded into their Sees by the civil power." No: they were placed by *ecclesiastical*

power (under the protection of the state) in those Sees which were held by those who were no bishops at all. This, however, is not the place to prove this last assertion, which can be easily done. But I meet him on his own ground. Mary, the sovereign, could undo what Edward, the sovereign, had done. What Edward had innovated by secular power, assuredly Mary could restore by the same power. But the idea of an English Protestant charging others with subservience to the civil power !

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes ?

As to Perceval himself, see his consistency : he treats the non-jurors as schismatics. William the Third deprived Sancroft of Canterbury for a most honourable scruple. Tillotson was consecrated archbishop during Sancroft's life, and Perceval has not a word to say against the intrusion. But why dwell on particular instances ? Everything whatever in the Anglican establishment takes root in an Erastian soil. The whole repast, *ab ovo usque ad mala*, is supplied by "mine host" of the Crown and Sceptre. That very ordinal which pretends to make bishops, and to confer spiritual and sacramental graces, whence comes it ? Who is its parent ? Who concocted it ? Who "devised" it ? for that is the word of the Act, that is, invented it. A secular Parliament. This body passed an Act in 1549, authorising the king to nominate a commission, composed of six bishops and six persons "learned in God's law," the majority of whom were to agree to a form. Now observe : there is no authority residing in these commissioners. They are employed as so many clerks to "devise" or invent a formula. The authority to *them* is the king : the authority

to the king himself is the Parliament. Observe, moreover, that there need not have been more than one bishop required to agree upon the form ; for one, added to the six learned in God's law, would constitute the majority. Here, then, Anglicans, is the basis on which your hierarchy rests. The civil power originating, authorising, and legalising the matter and form of a sacrament (!), for a sacrament you must acknowledge Orders to be, notwithstanding your thirty-nine articles. And, after all, the services of this committee of Parliamentary clerks were not satisfactory. They retained copes and rochets, and staves or crosiers, for all the bishops in the ceremony, and left in the oath an appeal to the saints, to the great horror of Hooper, who declined to be ordained by it, "on account," says he, "of the shameful and impious form of the oath," and of "those Aaronic habits." (*Original Letters by the Parker Society*, p. 87, Hooper to Bullinger.) The consequence was, the form was not definitively settled till the Parliament adopted the present in 1552.

Paradoxical as it may seem, I contend that Anglicans have not renounced the authority of Rome ! If they do, their whole edifice tumbles to the ground. If the authority of Rome is not admitted, *there never has been one Archbishop of Canterbury*. Let me remind them that the See of Canterbury was established by St. Augustine, under the authority of the Pope St. Gregory. But were there no metropolitan Sees already in existence ? Yes ; there were *London*, *York*, and *Caerleon*. The Pope superseded London and established Canterbury, just as the same authority (*pace vestrá dixerim*), Pius IX, has established Westminster ; and Cardinal

Wiseman sits at Westminster by the very same authority as St. Augustine sat at Canterbury. Anglicans cling to Canterbury ; therefore they cling to Rome, *à leur insçu*. Let them be consistent, and other consequences will follow.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court :

Octave of Immaculate Conception, 1858.

LETTER XVI.

GODWIN.—PERCEVAL.—HEAVY BLOWS.

SIR,—There are some opponents who seem to think that, in denying the Lambeth consecration, we are obliged to rest, nay, who seem to say that we must and we shall, rest our case on the truth of the Nag's Head story. To this I entirely demur. I have irresistibly proved that the Lambeth consecration is a figment, and the register a cheat: that suffices. I leave the Nag's Head *in medio*. I could produce abundant matter to support its credibility; vastly more than the Protestants imagine. But this is not necessary to my purpose; and as the discussion would prolong this series of letters, and is rather an irritating topic for some of our Anglican friends, I forego the task.

However, I do marvel at Perceval's blissful ignorance on this point. He asserts, that "for forty years after the consecration, not a whisper of this story reached the air" (*Appendix*, p. 110). "Neither Stapleton, nor Harding, nor Alan, nor Reynolds, nor Parsons, had heard a word of it." Courageous assertion! Suffice it to produce one single authority to which Perceval must pay due deference, Godwin de Præsulibus (*in vita Parker*). "De loco si quæris hujus consecrationis, haud alius fuit quam consuetus, capella nimirum palatii Archiepiscopalis

Lamethensis, utcunque diversa tradant *impudentissimi* *rabulæ* Hardingus Fitz-simon et alii: quanquam Hardingo aliquo fortassis modo ignosci potest, quod QUÆ NEMO ADHUC ARGUERIT, tradiderit." So he partly excuses Harding for giving currency to a story "which no one had yet called in question." We must bear in mind that Harding was contemporary with Parker. Godwin continues in the same passionate strain: "Crassi mendacii malignitatem—quis ferat?—fronte perfrictâ asseverare—stupidissimus—summæ est tam dementiæ quam impudentiæ—nisi mendacia stoliditatem saperent." This is a bouquet of the flowers of rhetoric culled from the passage in question. "Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?" Does a towering passion befit the mitre, or unseemly rage show off to advantage the sleeves of lawn? This, however, it indicates—a bad cause. The author of *Coningsby* says, that "the most undignified of characters is a patrician in a panic." I think we can here match it—a bishop in a passion.

I will take this occasion of testing Godwin's assertions. He says the consecration took place in the usual place, *locus consuetus*, the chapel of Lambeth Palace. Would you believe it? Down to Cranmer inclusively there never was one single archbishop, as far as I can discover, consecrated in the said chapel. Cranmer was consecrated in the chapter-house of St. Stephen's, Westminster, 30th March, 1533 (Reg. Cranmer). Warham, his predecessor, was translated from London, where consecrated for London does not appear, neither is the exact day known. (Richardson's Godwin.) Dean next preceded Warham. He was translated from Salisbury, and was previously of Bangor, *anno* 1496; where consecrated does not

appear. Morton, the next preceding, was translated from Ely; he, indeed, as Bishop of Ely, was consecrated at Lambeth, *anno* 1478. Bouchier preceded Morton, and was translated from Ely, but first from Worcester, *an. cons.* 1435; where consecrated I cannot discover. Kemp was Primate before Bouchier, and was translated from York, London, Chichester, Rochester (inversely), *an. cons.* 1419; where does not appear. He was successor to Stafford, who was translated from Bath and Wells; consecrated *anno* 1425, in the church of the Dominicans, London, on the Feast of Pentecost. Need I mount higher to disprove the assertion that the Lambeth chapel was the ordinary place of archiepiscopal consecration? The fact is, there was rarely a case in which the occupant of the archiepiscopal throne was not a translated bishop.

Godwin, also, in the same passage, gives *his* version of that extraordinary proceeding of Archbishop Abbot, who, soon after the publication of Mason's book, summoned from their prison into the presence of himself and the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Rochester, four priests—Faircloth, Lathwait, Colleton, and Leak—to inspect the register, the existence of which Mason had recently announced to the astonished world. With Ciceronian copiousness he says, "*quantum libuit, spectarunt, contrectarunt, evolverunt, perlegerunt,*" "they examined it, handled it, turned it over, perused it, as much as they pleased," and gave their testimony accordingly. This is an egregious misstatement. That they saw and handled a manuscript book is quite true; that it purported to record a consecration, they of course could testify; so should I or any one else in similar circumstances; just as I should say of a forged banknote, that it purported to be, and seemed

very like, a banknote. But that they, being non-experts, could by thus running and reading, detect a fraud in a cleverly managed register was impossible ; or that they did express themselves satisfied is simply untrue. On the contrary, they requested to be allowed another opportunity more leisurely to examine it,—not in their prison, as Le Courayer says. This request was not complied with. Champney says that they could only examine it “*simplici intuitu, levissimè, et quasi per transennam.*” How could it be otherwise? Here are four men brought by their gaolers into the presence of five bishops to examine what required a lengthened scrutiny, an expert eye, a knowledge of a multitude of circumstances, and a power and an aptitude to institute intricate comparisons.

But really, how strongly does this very transaction disprove the fact of the Lambeth consecration ! Fifty-four years after this alleged fact, a record of the same is produced, when lo ! an outcry of astonishment and incredulity is the consequence. So great indeed was the surprise that, to convince the Catholic world, the above extraordinary expedient is adopted. Now, *supposing* the fact, this surprise and incredulity would be simply impossible. The fact must have been most notorious. Bramhall says it was witnessed “by thousands” ; and it is mentioned in Parker’s Life, in *De Antiquitate Brit. Eccl.*, that there was “*frequentissimus hominum cœtus,*” an immense crowd of people. There would have been no question about a register at all ; the register would have been taken for granted. Neither was there any question about Barlow during these fifty-four years ; his consecration first became a subject of discussion on the production of the register, for then did the world hear

for the first time that he had presided. Truly what Perceval wrongly alleges of the Nag's Head story is true of that of Lambeth,—nothing was heard of it for forty years. The incredulity of the world proves this; and the proceeding of Archbishop Abbot proves the incredulity.

With what engaging self-complacency does Mr. Perceval pronounce who were canonical bishops, who were uncanonical. According to him, Edward's bishops were all "good men and true;" but as for Mary's bishops, with one fell swoop he brushes them away among the uncanonical rubbish (p. 174). Gently, sir. May I be permitted to disturb that complacency by one single stroke? The head, the foundress of your church, Elizabeth, considered them canonical; for knowing them to be real bishops, she commissioned them for Parker's consecration, reserving them for the purpose. Bourne of Bath and Wells, and Poole of Peterborough, were Mary's bishops; they were members of the authentic but abortive commission of September 9, 1559.

Then, again, with what infantine simplicity does he construct a house of cards, and take it for a castle. "The rest *consented*," says he, "to the consecration of Archbishop Parker, and *four* took part in it. It was therefore canonical in every respect, being by the hands of *four*, and by the consent of *all* the canonical bishops of the province" (p. 176). Now, I have already demolished this fragile structure with one facile puff. I have proved the non-existence of the fact of consecration, and the spuriousness of the royal commission of Dec. 6. But for the moment I will suppose the *fact*, as well as the truth of the register, and the reality of the commission. I will prove the *nullity* of the whole by the ar-

gumentum ad hominem. Barlow, the presiding officiant, I have already disposed of. This observation, however, I will add in passing, that the conferring episcopacy is confided to a man who notoriously attributed all spiritual jurisdiction to the sovereign, and regarded consecration as a mere form, and on this occasion presided at a function which is described as a complicated ceremonial.* Now, although according to Edward's ordinal the others are only assisting and presenting, yet I will even suppose that, were they real bishops, they had an equal and co-ordinate power. But I will sift their episcopal pretensions.

Who were they? Scory, Coverdale, Hodgkins; Bale also named. With such a lot, Mr. Perceval is content to "march through Coventry." Well, let us survey them. Scory and Coverdale were consecrated, or said to be consecrated, in Edward's reign. First, let us inquire, who was then in the ascendant in ecclesiastical matters? The arch-Erastian, anti-hierarchical Thomas Cranmer, whose principles have already been noticed, and who to the last, in his examination before the commissioners at Oxford, "affirmed the power of *the keys*, as well as that of the sword, was lodged in the crown" (Collier, vol. ii, p. 385). What guarantee can we have for sacramental

* When, in a former Letter, I gave an account of Barlow's children, it was stated that Barlow's son William became a prebendary of Wells. My authority was Ward; who says that he held the stall attached to Wiveliscombe in Wells cathedral. Since then, I have examined the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and I find that Wood says he was a prebendary of Winchester; and that he was well skilled in the science of navigation. Wood is, probably, the more accurate. The point is of little consequence: I wish merely to be myself accurate.

validity under such a man? In fact, it is impossible to discover what was really practised at consecrations in Edward's reign. The Catholic form was not abolished till 1549. There were two episcopal appointments before that date,—Ridley to Rochester, and Farrer to St. David's. As to Ridley he was Cranmer's shadow. At his consecration it is remarkable, nevertheless, that Cranmer did not officiate. The officiants were Henry of Lincoln, John Bedford, and Thomas *Sidon*. At his execution, he was degraded only from the simple priesthood at the instigation of Brooks of Gloucester. And why? I am convinced that Brooks was in possession of facts that nullified the rite, administered as it was by men who held anti-hierarchical and Erastian principles.

Then, as to Farrer: he was the first appointed after the abolition of *congé d'élire* and capitular election (Cranmer's work), a legislative denial of the jurisdiction of the church. There is no datum by which to know how he was consecrated. This, however, we learn from Collier, that "the ceremony was not altogether performed after the old form" (vol. ii, p. 266). Now, it *ought* to have been, for this occurred Sept. 9, 1548, and the Catholic form was law until 1549. After these occur Poynt and Hooper, *anno* 1550. Then come our heroes, Scory and Coverdale, said to have been consecrated August 30, 1551. This was during a kind of interregnum as to the Ordinal, which was not definitively and legally settled till the Parliament of 1551-2, commencing in January, four months afterwards. The commission of twelve (six prelates and six "learned in God's law") had indeed been employed to "devise" a form, by the decision of the majority of which possibly only *one bishop*

was a voter. Their bantling, however, was not altogether approved of, and it was *during this unsettled period* that Scory and Coverdale were promoted. Who then can rely on the validity of their consecration? Who, too, can rely on the intention of the man who officiated, if he believed, as he did believe, that the ceremony was a mere form and nothing more. That man was Cranmer.

I find, on examining Rymer, these doubts confirmed. There is, *ex. gr.*, the grant of the See of Exeter to Miles Coverdale, by royal appointment. The grant is duly authenticated, "per breve de privato sigillo" (Rymer, vol. xv, p. 283). Then comes the *significavit* to Cranmer to consecrate him (p. 289). It *has no authentication whatever*. Then follows another document (same page), a very remarkable document, a royal license to the said Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter (who by the way was erst an Augustinian friar) and to his dear wife Elizabeth, to eat flesh meat and lacticinia in Lent, and on other fast days, during their natural life; and also, leave to place the same before five or six guests coming to their table, "liberè et impunè"! And sure enough that has the necessary authentication, "per breve de privato sigillo." Thus this Puritan of the first water was more intent on securing his creature comforts than a valid consecration. Evidently, more importance was attached to beef than to benediction, especially as administered by such a man as Cranmer. Oh, that Cranmer! I stand amazed when I find that High Churchmen of any shade speak with reverence of such a man; for, apart from his hypocrisy, his unprincipled subserviency to a tyrant's passions, his perjury, if ever there was a man who, influ-

entially and effectually, was the antagonist of Anglo-Catholic principles, that man was Thomas Cranmer.

We come now to John Hodgkins, of whom no account remains, save that he was "suffragan" of Bedford, and served as a convenient tool in these doubtful consecrations. Some of your readers may not know what these "suffragans" were. They were the invention of Henry the Eighth,—a kind of "chorepiscopi," without dioceses, without episcopal jurisdiction,—a sort of vicars or coadjutors to the bishop in one particular part only of the diocese. They received, however, the pontifical consecration. Being all Henry's creatures, they were introduced, according to Dugdale in his *History of Warwickshire*, by Henry as being of use to him in resisting the authority of the See of Rome. Their power, however, was, by the statute which established them, limited in duration. It will be not amiss to give an extract or two from the Act 26 Henry VIII.

"And the bishops of such Sees shall be called suffragans of this realm . . . so it be within the same province whereof the bishop that doth name him is. . . . He shall be called bishop suffragan. . . . The archbishop is required to give him all such consecrations, benedictions, and ceremonies as to the degree and office of a bishop suffragan shall be requisite."

"VI. Provided always, that no such suffragans who shall be made and consecrate by virtue and authority of this Act, shall take or receive any manner of profits of the places and Sees whereof they shall be named, nor use, have, nor execute any jurisdiction or episcopal power or authority within their said Sees, nor within any diocese or place of this realm or elsewhere within

the king's dominions ; but only such profits, jurisdiction, power and authority as shall be licensed and limited to them to take, do, and execute by any archbishop or bishop of this realm within their diocese to which they shall be suffragans, by their commission under their seals ; and *that no such suffragan shall use any jurisdiction ordinary or episcopal power otherwise, nor longer time than shall be limited by such commission to him to be given, upon pain,*" etc.

Clearly, then, Hodgkins had *by law* no right, nor title, nor authority to meddle with the consecration of Parker ; on the contrary, the attempt to exercise it subjected him to the legal penalty, and his act would by law be null. In this case of Hodgkins, also, there is another most damaging flaw as to the Lambeth business. His name was John, the register calls him John, but the queen's alleged commission names him Richard. That commission required at least *four* to be present ; without John there were not four ; being therefore misdescribed, he must be considered, I take it, as not appearing ; consequently, on legal grounds the affair was a nullity. We find a commentary on this legal point in the *Gazette* as to officers in the army now-a-days ; repeatedly we find a rectification of their names when misdescribed, as a legal remedy, I presume, for the flaw.

We come now to the last on the list, that wayward wight, John Bale, styled Bishop of Ossory—once a Carmelite friar. According to the register he did not make his appearance. Bramhall, by the way, says in one place, there were five bishops present ; Mason and the register four ; but Baker only three. Delightful agreement. However, the said John Bale was not, even on

Anglican principles, a bishop at all, for he was not bishop *according to law*. He was consecrated in Dublin, in Edward's reign, with the ordinal rite, which was not then law in Ireland. The Irish parliament did not adopt it until the reign of Elizabeth. But Bale insisted, and the Archbishop of Dublin complied. We have the account from himself in the "Vocation of Johan Bale," which may be seen in the 1st vol. of the Harleian Miscellany; it is a perfect specimen of fanatical Billingsgate. "The Dean," says he, "Thomas Lockwoode (blockhead he might well be called), alleged that the Irish Parliament had not consented." "For whie, he much feared the new changed order of the communion therein to hinder his kychin and bellye." And when the ceremony was concluded, "then," says he, "went the asse-headed dean awaie." That is a sample of the style of the whole narration. Verily, if Knox was rightly styled the ruffian of the Reformation, Bale was its Thersites. And yet this worthy is put down as having been honoured with a commission to inaugurate a hierarchy!

Let us now consider that most monstrous clause appended to this Commission, beginning "supplentes," etc., the substance of which is this—The Queen, by her supreme authority, dispenses with all impediments and disqualifications in the Commissioners, whether real, personal, legal, or ecclesiastical! She assumes spiritual jurisdiction of the highest order; such, in fact, as we do not acknowledge in the Pope,—for he cannot communicate the sacrament of Order except through a duly consecrated bishop. But Queen Victoria, according to the power thus assumed, could appoint Lords Shaftesbury

and Palmerston to consecrate a bishop, by dispensing them from all personal, legal, and ecclesiastical impediments. And if Elizabeth could do this, she could just as easily have done the other thing, which I contend she actually did—namely, after the failure of the Commission of Sept. 9, appoint and nominate, “by her supreme authority,” her first bishop without further trouble. Here, too, Anglicans, you will find a sore dilemma. Choose your horn; either will transfix you. You attribute to the Sovereign an exterior government only in the Church. Now this commission, with its clause, is either genuine or it is not: if not, your Lambeth consecration rests on no authority; if genuine, then to your Church the Sovereign is the very fountain of spiritual jurisdiction.*

I come now to my last point of the *argumentum ad hominem*. If the Lambeth register be true, then the whole affair was absolutely illegal: for Edward’s Ordinal was not then restored. Having well studied this point, I am positive on this head. In addition to the reasons I have already adduced, in addition to the testimony of

* In the present reign, the Crown most unmistakably assumes and exercises, on a world-wide scale, spiritual jurisdiction of the highest order; to wit, *the appointment of bishops to new dioceses*. The new bishop exercises episcopal jurisdiction in the new field solely by the Royal edict. He is gazetted accordingly. These queen-made sees are now springing up in all directions. The latest are Brisbane and St. Helena! What do “Anglo-Catholics” say to this? Do they not contend that spiritual *jurisdiction*, as well as order, appertains to the Church? That she, and not the State, has the power of the “keys”? Puzzled, indeed, some of them are:—disabused, and disenchanted of Church-of-Englandism they ought to be.

the Act of 8 Elizabeth, which distinctly says, that in the 1st Eliz. the Act for consecrating bishops of 25th Henry VIII, was "revived," I contend that it was deliberately intended, not then at least, to re-enact the Ordinal of Edward. A plain proof is this—Elizabeth intended the Catholic bishops to consecrate Parker: the fact of the commission to Tunstall, etc., is evidence of this. I will, further on, produce Cecil's important testimony to the same effect. In fact, both Elizabeth and Cecil saw clearly that they *could not get on* at first, nor create a new hierarchy without the Catholic Bishops—who would *cease* to be Catholics, if they adopted the Ordinal. If then the register be true, the affair was illegal, and Perceval himself acknowledges "it is a heinous offence, if it is so."

I now quit the *argumentum ad hominem*, and return to the direct proof of facts as they were: concluding with two or three hard blows; though really, by this time, I am battering a heap of ruins. Barlow then had really nothing to do in this business—the register is a fraud—the affair of Dec. 17 is a fable. On the failure of the commission to the Catholic Bishops, there was of course an embarrassment, and a correspondence ensued between Parker and Cecil. In the State Paper Office there is a letter from Parker to which Cecil has appended two marginal notes. One is about Edward's Ordinal, of (mark that!) which he writes—"this is not established by Parliament." The other is about the possibility of a consecration under the circumstances, and he says—"there is no Archbishop, nor four bishops now to be had: wherefore quærendum." Now I rather think that Cecil, Elizabeth's Prime Minister, knew more about these matters—quorum pars

magna fuit—than a reverend gentleman of the nineteenth century. How foolish, then, looks this grandiloquent sentence of Perceval—"It was in every respect canonical, being by the hands of *four* with the consent of *all* the canonical bishops of the province," by the side of this authoritative dictum of the Prime Minister, "**THERE ARE NOT FOUR BISHOPS NOW TO BE HAD !**" Does not, in fine, this very important admission of Cecil, under his own hand, tally with, and point to, the manner in which the difficulty was solved—by the Queen's supreme authority, through letters patent ?

I will now bring forward another presumptive argument of the fraud of the register, from its internal evidence. Among the company present are numbered, Grindal Elect, of London, and Cox Elect, of Ely. How could they countenance by their presence the complicated ceremonial there described at the very time they were pledged to endeavour to have removed the few ceremonies retained in the Prayer Book ? The echo of the furious disputes at Frankfort had scarcely died away, regarding this very question of wearing a simple surplice. "The first bishops, says Strype, (Annals 1, 263) that were made, and who were but newly returned out of their exiles, as Cox, Grindal, Horn, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst, Bentham, upon their first returns, before they entered on their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the church the papistical habits, and that *all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside*, but they could not obtain it," and Grindal, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, dated August 27, 1566, says : "We, who are now bishops, on our first return, and before we entered on our ministry, contended long *and earnestly* for the

removal of those things that have occasioned the present dispute." (Original letters, P. Society, page 169.)

I will conclude to-day's letter with a very apposite and conclusive testimony from the Catholic contemporary, Dr. Stapleton. After speaking of the nullity of the Lutheran and Calvinistic ordinations, he comes to speak of our own Reformers at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. He says—"Anglo-Calvinistæ quum *in principio sola regiâ auctoritate* Cathedras Episcopales occuparunt, *nunc per manuum impositionem omnes suos ministros* ridicule ordinant." "Whereas the Anglo-Calvinists at the *beginning* occupied the episcopal sees by the sole authority of the Queen, they *now* absurdly ordain all their ministers by imposition of hands." (Relectio Scholastica, p. 643.) This is direct to the point; it points out the fact that at first there was the sole exercise of Royal authority, and subsequently imposition of hands,—the adoption of the Ordinal. This is really very important testimony from one who knew well what was done, and of whom Dr. Bramhall himself says, "I look upon Dr. Stapleton as one of the most rational heads that your Church has had since the separation." (Chap. 7.) I have looked into Fulke's works to find what he says on this subject in answer to Stapleton. He does not notice this particular passage, for it was written after his answer to Stapleton was published: but he notices a similar argument, and thus delivers himself—"Likewise where he saith that when all the Popish bishops were deposed, there was none to lay hands on the bishops that should be newly consecrated, it is utterly false; for there was *one* of the Popish Bishops that continued in his place. . . . I speak

not this, as though in planting of the Church where it hath been long time exiled, an *extraordinary* form of ordaining were not sufficient, etc." (Fulke's Works, p. 118, P. Society.) This, too, is conclusive in its way. Fulke was contemporary. If Barlow had consecrated Parker he must have known it. But there is not one word or allusion about Barlow. He alludes to Kitchin solely, and then makes that significant remark about an extraordinary form of ordaining.

I really must in my next letter, in a week or two, close this subject and tie up my budget, whatever remains behind.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court: Conversion of St. Paul, 1859.

LETTER XVII.

PARKER'S REGISTER RENT IN TWAIN.

SIR,—I intend, on the present occasion, still further to develope and establish a most important point of the subject I have taken in hand, viz., the proof of the forgery of Parker's register from *internal evidence*. But first let me reply to the *in limine* objections of Anglicans. How absurd, it is said, to suppose a folio volume of 411 leaves—822 pages—with its multifarious facts and documents, to be a forgery! I suppose it not. I deny the truth of those documents only in that register which record the confirmation and consecration of Parker; that is, with the first eleven leaves, or twenty-two pages of the first volume; for there are two. With the rest I am not concerned. Then, it is urged, with the blustering but blundering Bramhall, if you assert a forgery, prove *who* forged it, and *when*. Verily, that is a sapient postulatium, and a pleasant task for the respondent. Just fancy yourself, reader, compelled to take in payment a forged £50 note, unless you can prove who forged it! Now I do not profess to prove who forged this commencement of Parker's register. Neither do I attempt to fix the date of the forgery. It might have been shortly before the publication, in 1613, of Mason's book, which announced its existence to the world. But, as there were some

occasional preparatory hints of something of the kind a few years before, it might have been about the beginning of James I's reign, anno 1603 ; who was known to attach great importance to an undoubted succession of bishops. "No bishop," said he, "no king." I am rather inclined to adopt this supposition. But it might possibly be, at the same time that mysterious first edition of *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, with the Life of Parker, was printed, *whenever that was*. The life of Parker, in that book, and the register, seem to be in partnership, as is pretty evident from the transparent collusion of that marginal note—otherwise most unnecessary and unmeaning—"hæ consecrationes et confirmationes in registris apparent." All I contend for, and prove, is, that these documents were fabricated long after the date of Dec. 1559.

Another strongly urged point with our opponents is this—by charging those with forgery, you must involve in the same category all sorts of registers and records in different parts of the kingdom, which agree with them. Well, these are awful consequences ; but they don't dismay me—*impavidum ferient ruinæ*. If a certain instrument is *proved* to be a fraud, let the consequences take care of themselves. That is the way I learned my logic. But the consequences are not so awful ; the agreement not so evident and extensive. As to the records within the control of Lambeth, they of course could, by the same magic touch, be made to square with the new documents. As to others beyond that control, where they do agree, it is not they which agree with the register, but the posthumous register is made to agree with them. And, after all, it is only in *dates* that the said registers are alleged as bearing out the Lambeth consecration of

December 17. But I will go so far as to say that, even *supposing* December 17 to be the real date of Parker's full archiepiscopal powers, it does not follow that the register's account is the true one; it does not follow that he was made archbishop in that way; it does not follow that it was enacted at Lambeth; it does not follow that Barlow, assisted by Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, consecrated him. The date would be indicated, not the circumstances of the transaction. An *installation* on Dec. 17 would not at all be incompatible with all my previous positions. That there was an installation performed by four bishops, we have the authority of that rare little book, before referred to, the short *Life of Parker*, translated from the *Historiola*, by a Puritan, supposed to be Dr. Aldrich, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, from 1569 to 1573, when he was ejected for non-conformity. I produce an extract, which I have taken myself, *literatim* and *verbatim*, from the copy in the British Museum. "He attained to that dignity without any blemish or spotte of old wives superstitions and unprofytable ceremonies off the Romish Pope; for as every one off them entred first hereunto by bulls off approbation sent from the Pope, so he was consecrated nether with these nor any other olde and idell ceremonies off Aaron's ornamentes, nether with gloves, nor sandales, nor slippers, nor miter, nor pall, but more chastely and religiously according to the puritie off the gospelle, foure bishoppes being appointed according to a law made in that behalfe, whyche placed him in his chaire, with so goodlie promises protested by him as it is meete shoulde off a gospelike pastor." Now this is point-blank against the Lambeth register. It is an installation that is referred

to; which must have been at Canterbury, not at Lambeth: Lambeth is not mentioned. "Four bishoppes placed him in his chaire." This was not done at Lambeth; the register itself does not record it. Then the Lambeth dresses—the silk copes, the surplices, the scarlet cassock, the black silk "crimera", the "fur collar of precious sables", as detailed in the "rituum ordo", were notoriously considered as "Aaron's ornamentes" by the Reformers.

It will not be amiss to describe the first volume of "Parker's Register." It is, *ab initio*, an entire book, not like Cranmer's, originally consisting of loose papers, after his death bound into a volume. My conviction is, that this was the case also with Parker's first acts and records. It is not likely that things were done at first more methodically under the newly settled or rather unsettled order of things than they were under Cranmer. But when this book was at a much later period provided, this spurious account of Parker's consecration was of course the first thing inserted, and then the other documents were, I conceive, transcribed, and the originals discarded. The book is regularly divided: one, the first part—down to fol. 145—is assigned to confirmations and consecrations, Parker's own occupying the first eleven leaves. Then follow *Inductions* down to fol. 213. Then commissions and ordinations, first to May 28, 1560, Anthony Huse being prime registrar, down to fol. 221; next, John Incent, registrar, down to fol. 299. Then *Visitations* from fol. 301 to 339. Then *Inductions* in the Archbishop's own diocese from fol. 340 down to 411, the end. It is of use in this question to know this arrangement of the book. An argument for its truth has been drawn from

its agreement in all its parts, its paging, etc. ; but really that has no force—of course the book is made to agree with itself. The sameness of the handwriting all through—with the exception of the notice of the deaths of Huse, the registrar, and of Parker himself, written in a smaller hand after the introduction, also the legal opinion of the six jurisconsults—is decidedly a sign of its posthumous concoction. For as Anthony Huse died in 1560, and another registrar, Incent, succeeded him ; and as in the “Acta” of Confirmation, Dec. 9, Francis Clarke was scribe in the absence of Anthony Huse, “in presentia mei francisci Clerke notarii publici in actorum scribam in hac parte propter absentiam Magi. Anthonii Huse, Registrarii assumpti ;” and as Anthony Huse himself is mentioned as present, Dec. 17, at the consecration, the writing ought to be different. Its uniformity, therefore, and the methodical arrangement, show that the entire book was written after the whole of the events which it records had passed.

Since my last letter, I have waded through all the documents in the register, connected with Parker's confirmation and consecration. It was wearisome work. The endless repetitions, the legal pleonasms, the oppressively long formalities, the numerous proesses, suggest the thought, while one reads them—surely in this entirely new and unsettled order of things, and in the then temper of men's minds, these formal and punctilious minutiae were not observed. The result, however, of the perusal is the detection of other indubitable marks of spuriousness. I will proceed to state a few. I begin with producing the whole of the introduction, which begins at the second leaf. I avoid the

contractions, and I write Cicestren, instead of Licestren, which occurs twice in the folio edition of Bramhall (Dublin 1677), because I am willing to suppose it a misprint.

“Registrum Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Matthei Parker in Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem per Decanum et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et Metropolitice Christi Cantuariensis prædictæ vigore et auctoritate licentiæ Regiæ eis in hac parte factæ primo die mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo nono electi, ac per Reverendos patres Dominos Willielmum Barlow nuper Bathoniensem et Wellensem Episcopum, NUNC electum Cicestresem, Johannem Scory dudum Cicestresem Episcopum, NUNC electum Herefordensem, Milonem Coverdale quondam Exoniensem Episcopum, et Joannem Hodgeskyn, Episcopum Suffraganeum Bedfordensem, vigore literarum commissionalium regiarum patentium eis directarum, nono die mensis Decembris tunc proxime sequente confirmati, necnon per ipsos Reverendos Patres auctoritate prædicta decimo septimo die ejusdem mensis Decembris consecrati: **Antonio Huse Armigero TUNC registrario primario dicti Reverendissimi Patris.**”

“The register of the most Rev. Father in Christ, his Lordship Matthew Parker, elected Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ, by virtue and authority of the royal licence in this part, given on the 1st day of August, one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine; and confirmed by the Reverend Fathers their Lordships William Barlow, lately Bishop of Bath and Wells, NOW

elect of Chichester ; John Scory, formerly Bishop of Chichester, NOW elect of Hereford ; Milo Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter ; and John Hodgeskin, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford, by virtue of Royal patent letters of commission directed unto them, on the 9th day of December next ensuing ; likewise consecrated by the same Reverend Fathers, under the same authority on the seventeenth day of the same month of December : Anthony Huse, Esquire, being THEN the chief Registrar of the said Most Rev. Father."

Now that alone is fatal, absolutely fatal to the character of the register. With this before our eyes, what are we to think of the assurance which Archbishop Wake gave to Le Courayer "you may depend upon it, that the whole entry of the acts of M. Parker's consecration with all the instruments relating to it in my registers are written in the same hand with the other acts of what passed during his Archiepiscopate, and *all at the same time that they were done.*" And here we have a scribe evidently revealing, in his blundering forgetfulness, both the *design* of making the register appear as written at the time of the acts, *nunc* ; and the *fact* of its being written at a period remote from the event, *tunc*. We must bear, also, in mind, that the *nunc* comprises a duration of *three days only*—from Dec. 17 to Dec. 20—for, according to the same register, Barlow and Scory were confirmed on the latter day, and consequently, were no longer "elect," but absolute bishops of Chichester and Hereford. Here, too, it occurs to me to ask, as the rituum ordo was written long after 1559, how could all those particularities there recorded, be remembered, even down to the position of benches and chairs !

In the "Acta Confirmationis," we are told that John Incent the notary public, as the Queen's messenger, presented the Letters Patent to the Commissioners, and humbly supplicated them to execute the Commission therein named—"humiliter supplicando." The Queen surely does not supplicate, she commands.

In the letter of Parker authorizing Nicholas Bullingham to appear as his proctor at the Confirmation, dated Dec. 7, two days before the Confirmation, he names the four Commissioners, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins only, as those with whom he has to do—then mentions Salisbury of Thetford and Bale apart, and altogether omits Kitchin of Llandaff. How was Parker to know that only four would be present? especially how in an official instrument take it before hand for granted? He clearly should have specified each member of the commission, and in the order named: thus—Kitchin of Llandaff; Barlow, elect of Chichester; Scory, elect of Hereford; Coverdale, once of Exeter; Hodgkins, Suffragan of Bedford; Salisbury, Suffragan of Thetford; and Bale, of Ossory.

In the "Citation to opposers," Barlow is made to say that the Queen's letter patent is "sealed with the great seal of England." This was not the fact; it was not sealed at all. I, of course, contend that it was altogether a forgery; but even, as printed by Rymer, there is no seal, nor mark of authenticity; which, if it existed, Rymer would have given. The commission to Tunstall and others, Sept. 9, was quite different. Rymer tells us it was sealed; and there is a letter extant, from Sir N. Bacon to Parker, dated from Redgrave, Sept. 7, which accompanied the document; he says "I send your grace the Royall assent sealyd."

In several of these instruments it was necessary to mention and enumerate the whole of the individuals named in the commission. Hence, after the actually present commissioners have stated their own names and titles, "Nos Willielmus," etc., they in each case proceed thus :—"Cum hac clausula, viz., una cum Dmis. Joanne Thetfordensi Suffraganeo, et Joanne Bale Osserensi Episcopo." But in each case they omit altogether the first man on the commission, Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff ! This could not possibly take place in a *bonâ fide* official transaction. Kitchin, moreover, was really the most important personage of the whole, as being an undoubted bishop, and in possession of his See. Hodgkins, too, in several instances is styled "Episcopus Bedfordensis," without the "Suffraganeus." He had no claim to the absolute title.

In the eleventh section of the "Summaria Petitio," it is said of the Queen, "mandavit quatenus vos eundem electum confirmare, ipsumque episcopalibus insigniis insignire." The word "consecrare," the most important word, is omitted. In the twelfth section it is also omitted, in a similar way.

In the "instrumentum super consensum D'ni electi," Radulphus Jackson is styled simply "Clericus," though he was a canon and prebendary of Canterbury. He was one of those who refused to be present at the election. On that occasion only four canons—John Milles, Arthur Sentleger, William Darrell, and John Butler, with the dean—were present in chapter. All the others, including Jackson, absented themselves, and were pronounced contumacious. And yet Ralph Jackson is represented in this instrument as having been specially invited to

attend at Lambeth to witness Parker's consent, and as having accepted the invitation. A most improbable story.

In the "*Sententia definitiva*" of confirmation, there is unintelligible jargon such as this,—"*tum in iis quæ . . . a nobis factum et processum est.*" After this comes the famous "*rituum et cæremoniarum ordo*," which you inserted last year in your journal. It was the Cambridge version I sent you, which differs in several particulars from that at Lambeth. I then commented on that document. I will add one or two observations. The blundering scribe in one passage turns the five bishops into six, "*cum quo (Barlow) communicabant archiepiscopus et quatuor illi episcopi supra nominati.*" "With whom (Barlow) the archbishop and the four above-named bishops communicated." The Ordinal is also mentioned as being then "*auctoritate parlamenti editi.*" It was not, as I have abundantly proved. In my last, I alluded to the improbability of Grindall and Cox being present, under the circumstances, at such a ceremonial. But if they could be so, why not Jewel also, the man of greatest mark amongst them? He was then in London, as appears by the dates of his letters; and yet he is not recorded as present at this most important function. It strikes me that Grindall and Cox were introduced into the account for the purpose of still calling them "*elect*," they having been associated with Parker as absolute bishops in the commission of Oct. 20.

I suppose your readers remember the character of the "*rituum ordo*," with all its apparatus and ceremonies. Let them, then, take a broad and common-sense view of the proceeding, bearing in mind the date, the circum-

stances, the religious tendencies of the Reformers just returned from Zurich and Germany. They will find it a staring anachronism. The intended bench of bishops were at that moment, whatever they afterwards became, almost to a man Puritans in the matter of ecclesiastical ornaments, and averse to adopt, except by compulsion, even the simple surplice. Let those who question this view read the *Zurich Letters*. There were some, in fact, who were first named to bishoprics who declined on this very ground. Samson was named to Norwich, Coverdale to Exeter, Bacon to Chester, as we learn from a document in the State Paper Office.

In Rymer (vol. xv, pp. 582, 589) there is a long list of presentations to benefices for the years 1559 and 1560. I will draw from them a *fatal* shaft against the truth of the register. There are three presentations to livings in the diocese of St. David's (p. 584) of Thomas Laherne, Walter Jones, and Maurice Price; all the three letters patent are addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. This supposes the vacancy of the archiepiscopal See. What is the date of all three? December 10. On what day was Parker confirmed, according to the register? December 9. From that day, therefore, the authority of the dean and chapter ceased, and the archbishop at once possessed full jurisdiction. And yet the queen, on December 10, addresses the dean and chapter as the depositories of archiepiscopal jurisdiction! By the Oxford editor of Bramhall (vol. iii, p. 217), these very three cases are adduced as corroborative of the register. The fact is, he was thinking of the consecration only, forgetting that all jurisdiction was transferred on confirmation. A suicidal blunder!

I come now to another most important and decisive proof of the spuriousness of the register, and to which, therefore, I invite the special attention of your readers. Nicholas Bullingham is repeatedly mentioned in these documents ; at the confirmation, as simply Doctor of Laws and as Proctor for the archbishop elect ; and in the "Rituum Ordo" as Archdeacon of Lincoln. And yet at that very date he was Bishop elect of Lincoln ! No notice is taken of this distinction ; his status is absolutely ignored ; having the same designation with Parker himself, he is made to appear as a mere proctor ; and, the strangest of all, in the legal opinion signed by six lawyers, plain Nicholas Bullingham is signed the last, when, even as senior and LL.D, he should precede most of the others, especially Edward Leedes, a young Licentiate of Laws.

I will now show that at that date he was bishop elect. The *congé d'élire* is in Rymer (xv, 549), and is dated the 25th November, 1559. By the law of 25th Henry VIII, then in force, the dean and chapter were to elect within twelve days of the receipt of the royal letter, under pain of forfeiture of the right of election. Further on, I will show that the date in Rymer is not to be depended on ; that it ought to be a much earlier date. The *congé* is not authenticated ; this also is the case with all the *congés* at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. That date, however, suffices for the present. Well, the next thing is to seek for the record of his election in the Lincoln or the Lambeth register. All the dates of election of every bishop appointed in the province of Canterbury, during the two first years of Elizabeth, are recorded, except one. I will give them :—Parker of Canterbury, Aug. 1, 1559 ; Grindall of London, July 26 ; Cox of Ely, July 28 ;

Meyrick of Bangor, Dec. 1 ; Sandys of Worcester, Nov. 25 ; Jewel of Sarum, Aug. 21 ; Davies of St. Asaph, Dec. 4 ; Young of St. David's, Dec. 6 ; Guest of Rochester, Jan. 29, 1559-60. Barkley of Bath and Wells, Jan. 29, 1560 ; Bentham of Lichfield, Jan. 15, 1560 ; Alley of Exeter, May 20, 1560 ; Parkhurst of Norwich, April 13, 1560 ; Horne of Winchester, Dec. 10, 1560 ; Scambler of Peterborough, Dec. 21, 1560. There they are all, except one,—that one is Bullingham of Lincoln. The chapter register of Bullingham's election, we are told, is lost ! Then, was the Lincoln register negligently kept ? Quite the contrary ; it was a careful and exact register. Le Neve repeatedly refers to Reg. Linc. for the officials of the See ; and in Dugdale's *Monasticon* there is a very interesting extract from it ; a minute inventory of all the vestments, and sacred vessels of the cathedral, with a precise description of each. Then what is the inference ? Am I not warranted in more than suspecting that the record has been made away with ? It was discovered that a great mistake had been made when concocting the fraud, by assigning to Bullingham a part inconsistent with his position ; and therefore the registered proof has been destroyed.

But now for an argument still more decisive and damning, if possible. He is at the consecration described as the Archdeacon of Lincoln. I will first observe, that if he was Archdeacon of Lincoln, he ought to have been so designated in the previous acts at confirmation. I will, however, prove on the clearest evidence that at that date **HE WAS NOT ARCHDEACON AT ALL**, and that no one writing at that time could possibly give him that title. He formerly *had been* Archdeacon of

Lincoln, succeeding George Heneage, Sept. 22, 1549. On the accession of Mary he retired beyond sea; was succeeded by Thomas Marshall, May 23, 1554, to whom succeeded Owen Hodgson, Jan. 14, 1558, Bullingham not being restored. Therefore, *five years* had elapsed since his possession of the archdeaconry (*Le Neve, Fasti*, p. 157).

Now for a still more indubitable proof. There is a royal grant duly authenticated, "per breve de Privato Sigillo" in Rymer (vol. xv, 564), by which the queen grants to the said N. Bullingham, Bishop elect of Lincoln, the archdeaconry of Lincoln, *in commendam*, for three years. Now, attend to the date—Jan. 18, 1560, just three days before his consecration, and one month after Dec. 17. Now, observe this extract, "PRÆDICTUM ARCHIDIACONATUM, NUNC CERTO ET LEGITIMO MODO VACANTEM!" "THE AFORESAID ARCHDEACONRY NOW CERTAINLY AND LEGITIMATELY VACANT." Is not this a demonstration?

Nor is this all. From the same document we learn indisputably the period of his election. The queen allows him to receive the emoluments of the office as dating from the time of his accepting his episcopal election: "Per triennium, à tempore acceptationis prædicti Episcopatus continuò numerandum." "For three years, to be counted from the time of his acceptance of the said bishopric." This favour, of antedating his *commendam*, with a view to receive the emoluments, is another proof that during the intervening period he was not in possession of those emoluments, and therefore was not Archdeacon. I now refer again to *Le Neve* to find the date of the expiration of his *Commendam*. I find that John Aylmer, A.M., was installed, Nov. 6, 1562, Archdeacon of Lin-

coln. If we go back three years from this date, we come to Nov. 6, 1559, when Bullingham had not only been elected, but had accepted his election. Therefore, at the date of the Lambeth story, he was a bishop elect. At the date of the same, he was not Archdeacon of Lincoln. But the register says he *was* Archdeacon of Lincoln, and virtually says he was *not* a bishop elect; therefore the register is false, fraudulent, and spurious. Q.E.D.

When, however, we suppose that the said register was concocted many years after the assigned date, the blunder is easily explained, and was a very natural one to make, for he *had been* archdeacon, and for the first three years of his episcopate enjoyed the commendam; it was taken for granted that he was uninterruptedly so. But that any one, writing on December 17, 1559, should call him Archdeacon of Lincoln, was simply impossible.

This argument about Bullingham is most important, most decisive; it is unanswerable, and therefore most crushing. View it from whatever point you please; turn it over and over; to the right or to the left; up or down; press it, strike it; it defies refutation, and remains an impenetrable demonstration. Were there no other proof, this alone would demonstrate the fraud of the register. This alone would destroy the brittle glass toy; which, bright and transparent till broken, this single fracture converts into a mass of opaque dust. See the royal grant to Bullingham in the Appendix, No. 5.

There is one topic remaining to which I ought, I think, to allude as a point of honour. This is the question of the Irish succession.

I speak with some reserve; but there seems to be no reason to doubt the mere *succession* of the Irish Pro-

testant bishops. The same ugly facts as accompany the promotion of Parker are not to be found in the Irish proceedings. Sir James Ware is, I suppose, considered a sound authority. In his first volume (p. 94, ed. 1764), he tells us, that Adam Loftus was consecrated by Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, and other bishops, in March 1562-3. "Through this bishop," says he, "our Protestant bishops derive their succession without any pretence of blemish or cavil." Curwin himself was consecrated in the year 1555, Sept. 8, in St. Paul's, London, together with Turberville of Exeter, and Glyn of Bangor, and according to the Roman pontifical, for it was in the reign of Mary. "It is true," says Ware again, "some derive their succession from a higher source, viz., from George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, who was consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII, and who consecrated Hugh Goodacre, Archbishop of Armagh, and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in the reign of Edward VI. But these bishops were not consecrated according to the old pontifical, or any other ritual then in force by the laws of this kingdom. That of Edward VI was not authorized by Act of Parliament here until the second year of Elizabeth. And Dean Lockwood, at the time of their consecration, protested against the form of it, although at that time no other was used in England; and for this reason our Irish hierarchy rather choose to derive their succession from Archbishop Curwin, through Archbishop Loftus, than from Brown through Goodacre and Bale, as not liable to the least objection." This last reason of Ware about civil illegality does not affect mere *succession*. But, if I remember rightly, Goodacre died shortly after without consecrating any one; and certainly that genius,

Bale, consecrated no one, for he shortly decamped from Ireland. Of course to us Catholics it is practically the same whether the Irish have succession or not, as we deny the validity of their Orders. But even this supposed succession in Ireland cannot, as already shown, in the least affect the English branch, which remains without Succession as without Orders, according to the belief of Catholics.

Shall I say anything of the claims of Scotch Episcopalians to Apostolical succession? It is superfluous. I am spared the trouble of demolishing their foundationless edifice, as that operation has been performed by Anglican hands. I refer the reader to a book published by Hatchard in the year 1849, entitled "Episcopacy in Scotland." If he read from p. 171 to p. 191, he will be enlightened as to the inextricable labyrinth of Scottish Apostolicity; and will be taught by a Protestant instructor, "that whatever claim other bishops may have to a succession from the apostles, this succession is assuredly destroyed with respect to the bishops in Scotland." (Page 188).

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court :
St. David, Patron of Wales.

LETTER XVIII.

EXPLANATION AND CONCLUSION.

SIR,—I deem it necessary to explain the meaning which I attached to the word “succession,” in the last paragraph of Letter XVII, on the subject of the Irish Protestant Bishops. It was used in a very restricted sense—not in the Catholic sense of Apostolical succession. Even, however, in that limited sense, my meaning would have been better conveyed had the words *hypothetical succession* been used. That is, supposing two conditions—1st, that Curwin consecrated Loftus, and he others, and so uninterruptedly down to the present time ; and 2nd, that the orders transmitted are valid as to matter, form, and intention ; then the Irish establishment would possess the succession of *Orders*. We, however, deny the validity of those Orders, and therefore deny the succession, even in that restricted sense. There can be no succession where the Orders are null. As Bergier says, “il n’est point de mission, que par voie de succession, et la succession se fait par l’ordination.” (*Dictionnaire de Theologie*, Article, Succession.) But supposing even that the Irish had undoubted succession of Orders, they have not therefore Apostolical succession. All who have Apostolical succession have necessarily valid Orders ; but all who have

valid Orders have not necessarily Apostolical succession. This comprises three other essential requisites—communion, doctrine, and mission. These they have not.

As to the mere transmission of Orders in the above restricted sense, it appears to me that the most sanguine Anglican, on reading the history of the Irish establishment, will feel little confidence as to its past regular and canonical continuance, especially as to the right intention of conferring *priesthood*. He will find that that "Church" was invaded, and almost monopolized by Puritans: that it had its dark age; and also a season of complete demoralization. "Many divines who were troublesome in England on account of their Puritanical opinions, were provided for in the Irish Church to get them out of the way; for example, Travers, the opponent of Hooker, was made provost of Trinity College, and thus the Church was corrupted at the fountain head." (Note to Oxford ed. of Bramhall.) See Neal's "History of the Puritans," Brooke's "Puritans," and Reid's "History of the Presbyterians," for the way in which "the Irish Church was *deluged* with Puritans:" so much so, that large numbers of ministers serving in it, had received, not Anglican, but Presbyterian, Orders.

As to demoralisation, how sad a picture does Bramhall draw of it, writing, soon after his arrival in Ireland, to Archbishop Laud. The letter is dated August 10, 1633, and may be seen in Collier, vol. ii, p. 759. I will give you one or two extracts:—"For the fabricks, it is hard to say, whether the churches be the more ruinous and sordid, or the people irreverent; even in Dublin, the metropolis of this kingdom, and seat of justice, we find our parochial church converted to the Lord Deputy's

stable, a second to a nobleman's dwelling-house, the quire of a third to a tennis court, and the vicar acts the keeper. In Christ Church, the principal church in Ireland, the vaults, from one end of the minster to the other, are made into tippling rooms for beer, wine, and tobacco, demised all to popish recusants; and by them and others so much frequented during Divine service, that though there is no danger of blowing up the assembly above their heads, yet there is of poisoning them with their fumes. The table used for the administration of the Blessed Sacrament in the midst of the choir, made an ordinary seat for maids and apprentices *Credimus esse deos?* This being the case in Dublin, your lordship may judge what we may expect in the country."

Next for the clergy:—"I doubt much whether the clergy be very orthodox The inferior sort of ministers are below all degrees of contempt. The boundless heaping together of benefices by *commendams* and *dispensations* in the superiors is but too apparent. One bishop, in the remoter parts of the kingdom, doth hold three-and-twenty benefices with cure. Seldom any suitor petitions for less than three vicarages at a time, etc." As a further proof of the previous devastation and demoralization of the Irish establishment, I will mention an unexampled fact. On the 27 Jan. 1660-1, Bramhall, then Archbishop of Armagh, consecrated in one batch—two Archbishops, and ten Bishops! That was a hierarchical feat indeed!

By the way, it may not be amiss to remind "Anglo-Catholics" of the unmodified Erastianism of Irish episcopal appointments. The system of Cranmer and

Edward VI is there in force. There are no elections of Bishops in Ireland by Dean and Chapter, the sovereign nominating and appointing by letters patent. Virtually, indeed, she does the same in England, notwithstanding the formality of *congé d'elire* and capitular election. Still, that formality itself involves the acknowledgement of a principle.

Granting, however, merely for argument's sake, that the Irish establishment has undoubted succession, what possible effect can it have upon the descendants of the unconsecrated Parker in England? Is a man a priest in England, because he has a brother a priest in Ireland? As to the preposterous theory that Irish bishops have, by occasionally being present at English consecrations, leavened the whole mass "with Apostolical succession," that was scattered to the winds in Letter XI. I named—giving date and place—the solitary *four*, who at distant intervals during three hundred years, and out of more than fourteen hundred consecrating and assisting bishops, have assisted, and *only* assisted at English consecrations. If there be any Anglicans who have adopted this theory as a last resource, convinced of the failure of Parker's case—as I am assured there are such—do, my friends, for very common sense's sake, discard so absurd an idea. Do admit that there is no remedy short of what I playfully suggested—an exodus, a general expedition to the Irish coast for re-ordination. As that is impracticable, do lay your hands on your hearts, and candidly admit that, considering the unanswerable arguments and facts I have adduced, Anglican Orders rest not on any solid foundation. That foundation, such as it is, is crushed to powder by the proof of the fraud and falsehood of

Parker's register. That fraud was proved, and that falsehood demonstrated in my last letter alone, XVII, to say nothing of the mass of documentary evidence produced in the preceding letters. The foundation failing, the whole edifice rushes to the ground—*mole sud ruit*. The register being false, that which it records is, therefore, a fiction—viz., Parker's consecration. He being unconsecrated, the whole body of the Anglican clergy must necessarily be without Orders, for *all* have come from him; *all* have entered through him, as through a single door, into the Elizabethan temple. And thus, for the present, ends my tale of the nullity of Anglican Orders.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court, St. Thomas Aquinas.

LETTER XIX.

DR. WILBERFORCE AND ST. GEORGE.

THE following letter appeared in the *Weekly Register*, and is here introduced, though not directly connected with the subject of Anglican Orders. It is a *hors d'œuvre*.

SIR,—The extract you gave us last week from the *Guardian* report is indeed remarkable. "*Bishop of Oxford*: Long before the reign of Henry VIII the keeping of St. George's Day in England was a pure emanation from the Crown. The Crown enforced that, in future, that day should be kept with certain services and solemnities, and called upon the bishops to prepare proper services. *Bishop of Llandaff*: In whose reign? *Bishop of Oxford*: I forget." Now, as his lordship's memory is enveloped in a haze, he will, perhaps, permit me to dissipate it by a beam of historical light.

The Feast of St. George was established as a festival of great solemnity, anno 1415, by Henry Chichely, Archbishop of Canterbury, acting under the authority and decree of a Provincial Council; and on the occasion of Henry V conducting his army into France for the campaign in which the glorious victory of Agincourt was gained. What the king had to do with it may be learned from the words of the Archiepiscopal Constitution, from which I take the following extracts:—

“Henricus permissione Divinâ Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis,” etc. After a preamble, in which he speaks of “the most glorious martyr St. George, the patron and special protector of the said nation,” he proceeds—“Nos qui Dei laudem in Sanctis suis, in quibus gloriosus existit, in nostrâ Provinciâ cupimus ampliari, *regiis et regni incolarum hortatibus* excitati, Confratrumque nostrorum et cleri Provinciæ nostræ ducti Consiliis, quinimo et nostri Provincialis Concilii *robore ac Decreto* suffulti festum beati Georgii martyris prædicti, sub officio duplici ad modum majoris duplicis Festi, tam per clerum, tam per populum nostræ Cantuariensis Provinciæ, per universas ecclesias ejusdem, de expresso consensu confratrum nostrorum et cleri ante dicti *volumus, statuimus et præcipimus*, annis singulis perpetuis futuris temporibus solemniter celebrari: et in ipso festo ab omni servili opere per omnes civitates et loca ipsius Provinciæ, sicut et prout in Festo Natalis Domini præcipimus ferri, quo magis in ipso festo plebs fidelis conveniant, Deum laudent, et ipsius Sancti et omnium Beatorum patrocinia devotius implorent, et pro Regis et Regni salute ferventius instant et exorent.—Ad hæc, dicti Provincialis Concilii auctoritate, decernimus et etiam statuimus per præsentis, quod festa sanctorum David et Ceddæ Episcoporum et Wenefredæ Virginis de cætero per totam Provinciam nostram, suis temporibus videlicet, Sancti David primo, Sancti Ceddæ secundo mensis Martii diebus, Wenefredæ autem tertio die Novembris cum regimine chori et novem lectionibus, perpetuis temporibus celebrentur. Volumus etiam et mandamus, etc., etc. Datæ in manerio nostro de Otteford quarto die mensis Januarii Anno Domini 1415.”

Now, here we have an “earnest suggestion” on the part of the king, and equally with him on the part of “the inhabitants of the kingdom”—“regiis et regni incolarum hortatibus”, which, according to Lyndwood’s *Gloss.*, is—“suasionibus vel instigationibus”: whereas, on the part of the Church, we have the “*authority and decree*” of the Provincial Council, and the consequent command of the archbishop—“we will, we enact, and we command”—all in the name, not of the king, but of the ecclesiastical authorities. As to what his lordship says—“and called upon the bishops to prepare proper services”—let me assure him this is a phantom of his beclouded memory. Let me, too, suggest to him to follow up his own principles; and, as that decree was for all future time, to *comply* with it. Next Tuesday is the feast of St. David; the day following, that of St. Chad: both appointed by the above constitution. Will he not then recite matins with nine lessons; and say or sing lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and complin on those days, ritu festi duplicis, as commanded? I assure him it will do him no harm, and perhaps will bring on him a blessing; for he comes from a good stock, and from an honoured parent.

There is another similar Constitution of Archbishop Chichely, dated “from our Manor of Otteford, under our seal, 17 December, 1416.” This was after the victory of Agincourt, which happened on the Feast of the Translation of St. John of Beverley. After reciting in this decree a certain fact, which was considered a miraculous manifestation of St. John’s intercession, he proceeds to establish a new festival in his honour, and to increase the solemnity of the previously existing Feast of his

Translation. Here, too, the grateful monarch “earnestly suggests” the propriety of doing greater honour to St. John. From the decree, you may perceive the respective parts of the King and the Primate—of the Crown and the Church. After speaking in glowing terms of the victory, and its occurrence on the feast of the saint, he says :—“*Volentes igitur in nostrâ Provinciâ Divini cultus augmentum, et specialiter ad tanti patroni celebriorem laudis extollentiam dilatare de Fratrum nostrorum et cleri in eadem Convocatione præsentiâ voluntatibus, consilio, et assensu, et nihilominus ad dicti Christianissimi Principis nostri instantiam specialem, memorati Confessoris sanctissimi memoriam—duximus exaltandam—statuentes et pro futuro tempore ordinantes, etc. Statuimus, decernimus, et ordinamus quod de cætero singulis annis dictus dies vicesimus quintus mensis Octobris, ob tam notabilis rei memoriam . . . cum novem lectionibus celebris habeatur. Volumus ergo, et vobis firmiter injungendo mandamus,*” etc., etc.

This is an apt illustration of the contrast between the power of Convocation in past and present times, to which I alluded in my letters on Anglican Orders. Now let us just fancy Dr. Sumner issuing a decree similar to the above. We all remember the interest which was last November exhibited by many of “the inhabitants of the kingdom” in celebrating the third centenary of Elizabeth’s accession ; and, by the way, what an amount of ignorance of the history of that juncture was displayed on the occasion ! Well ; let us suppose a decree issuing from Lambeth to this effect :—“We, John Bird, etc., etc., acting by the authority and decree of our venerable brethren in Convocation assembled, do hereby strictly

command, enact, enjoin, and ordain that the seventeenth day of November—the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession—be henceforward, each year, and for all future time, observed as a strict holiday, and a sacred festival; that all servile work be avoided; that all traffic be suspended; that the Bank be closed, and the Stock Exchange shut; and that each and every one shall repair, under pain of mortal sin, to his parish church for Divine Service, to thank God for giving us such a Queen, and for the greater honour and exaltation of the said foundress and patron saint of our glorious Anglican Establishment." I rather think this would "frighten the isle from its propriety", and even startle our most gracious Queen on her throne. As for the bulls and bears of Capel Court, their rage at being excluded from their favourite lair would, I imagine, be terrific. And yet the above decree of Archbishop Chichely on St. George's Feast is substantially the same—barring the *saint*.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

JOHN CANON WILLIAMS.

Arno's Court: Chair of St. Peter at Antioch.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE LAMBETH COPY OF THE ORDER OF CEREMONIES AT
PARKER'S ALLEGED CONSECRATION, DEC. 17, 1559.

RITUUM et Ceremoniarum Ordo in Consecratione Reverendissimi D'ni Matthei Parker, Archie'pi Cantur. in Capella infra Manerium suū. de Lambehith die d'nico, viz. decimo Septimo Die mensis decembris, Anno D'ni Mill'imo Quingenº, Quinquagesimo Nono.

Principio Sacellū. Tapetibus ad orientem adornabatur, solū. vero panno rubro insternebatur, Mensa quoq; sacris peragendis n'ce'ria, Tapeto pulvinariq; ornata, ad Orientem sita erat.

Quatuor preterea Cathedre, quatuor e'pis quibus Munus Consecrandi Archie'pi delegabatur ad Austrum Orientalis Sacelli partis erant posite.

Scamnū preterea Tapeto pulvinaribusq; instratum, Cui e'pi genibus flexis inniterentur, ante cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoq; modo Cathedra, Scamnūq; Tapeto, pulvinariq; ornatū Archie'po ad Borealem Orientalis eiusdem Sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

Hijis rebus ita ordine suo instructis, Mane circiter

quintam aut Sextam, per Occidentalem portam ingreditur Sacellū Archie'pus, toga Talari Coccinea, Caputioq; indutus, quatuor precedentibus funalibus, et quatuor comitatus e'pis, qui eius Consecrationi inservirent, viz. will'mo Barloe quondam Bathon. et wellen. e'po, nunc electo Cicestren., Joh'e Scory quondā Cicestren. e'po, nunc Hereforden. electo, Milone Coverdale quondam Exon. e'po et Johanne Bedforden. Suffraganeo. Qui omnes postq. Sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupassent, preces continuo Matutine per Andrea. Peerson Archie'pi Capellani clara voce recitabantur, Quibus peractis Joh'es Scory de quo supra diximus, Suggestum conscendit atq; inde assumpto sibi in Thema *Seniores ergo qui in vobis sunt obsecro consenior*, etc. non inelegeranter concionabatur.

Finita Concione, egrediuntur simul Archie'pus, reliqui; quatuor e'pi Sacellum, se ad Sacram Communionē paraturi neq; Mora confestim per Borealem portam ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt, Archie'pus nempe Linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur, Cicestren. electus Capa Serica ad Sacra peragenda paratus vtebatur, Cui ministrabant, operamq; suam prebebant, duo Archie'pi Capellani, viz. Nicholas Bullingh'm, Lincoln, et Edmundus Gest Cantuarien. respective Archi'ni, capis Sericis simil'r vestiti, Hereforden. electus, et Bedforden. Suffraganeus Linteis superpelliceis induebantur.

Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi Toga Lanea Talari vtebatur.

Atq; hunc in modum vestiti instructi ad Co'ionem celebrandam perrexerunt, Archie'po genibus flexis ad infimū Sacelli gradū sedente.

Finito tandem Evangelio, Hereforden. electus, Bed-

forden. Suffraganeus, et Milo Coverdale (de quibus supra) Archie'pum coram Cicester. electo, apud mensam in Cathedra sedente, hijs verbis adduxerunt, Reuerende in Deo pater, hunc virum piū pariter atq; doctum, Tibi offerimus atq; p'ntamus, ut Archie'pus consecretur, postq; hec dixisset, proferebatur illico Regium diploma siue Mandatum pro consecratione Archie'pi, Quo per D. Thomam Gale, Legum doctorem perlecto, Sacramentū de regio primatu siue suprema ejus auc'te tuenda, juxta Statuta primo Anno Regni Serenissime Regine n're Elizabeth edita et promulgata, ab eodem Archie'po exigebatur, quod cum ille solemniter Tactis corporal'r sacris Evangeliiis conceptis verbis prestitisset, Cicester. electus populū ad orationem hortatus, ad Letanias decantandas choro r'ondente se accinxit, Quibus finitis post Questiones aliquot Archie'po per Cicester. electum propositas, et post Orationes et Suffragia quedam juxta formam libri auc'te parlamenti editi apud deum habita, Cicester. Hereforden. Suffraganeus Bedforden. et Milo Coverdallus Manibus Archie'po impositis dixerunt Anglice, viz. "Take the hollie gost, and remember that thou stirre upp the grace of god which ys in the by Imposicon of handes, for god hath not giuen us the Spirite of feare, But of Power, and Love, and Sobernes." Hijs dictis Biblia Sacra illi in Manibus tradiderunt h'mo'i apud eum verba h'entes: "Gyve hede unto thy readinge, exhortacon and Doctrine, thinke upon these thinges, conteyned in thys Booke, be diligent in them that the increase cominge therbye may be manifest unto all men; Take hede unto thyself, and unto thy Teachinge, and be diligent in Doinge them, for by doinge thys, thou shalt saue thyself and them that hear thee, through Jesus Xpe our

Lord." Postq; hec dixissent, ad reliqua Communionis solemnia pergit Cicestren. nullū Archie'po tradens pastorale bacculum cum quo co'icabant Archie'pus et quatuor illi e'pi supra no'i'ati, cum alijs etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peractisq; Sacris egreditur per Borealem Orientalis Sacelli partis portā Archie'pus quatuor illis comitatus e'pis qui eum consecrauerant, et confestim eisdem ip'is stipatus e'pis per eandem reuertitur portam, albo e'pali Superpelliceo Crimeraq; (ut vocant) et nigro Serico indutus, circa collū vero Collare quoddam ex preciosis pellibus Sabellinis (vulgo Sables vocant) consutū gestabat. Pari quoq; modo Cicestren. et Hereforden. suis E'palibus amictibus Superpelliceo et Crimera vterq; induebatur. Coverdallus vero et Bedforden. Suf-fraganeus togis solummodo talaribus vtebantur. Pergens deinde Occidentalem portam versus Archie'pus Thome Doyle Iconomo, Joanni Baker, Thesaurario et Joh'i March Computo rotulario Sing'lis sing'los albos dedit Bacculos, hoc scz. modo eos muneribus et officiis suis ornans.

Hij; itaq; hunc ad modum ordine suo (ut iam ante d'cum est) peractis, per Occidentalem portam Sacellū egreditur Archie'pus generosioribus quibusq; Sanguine ex eius familia eum preceden. reliquis vero eum a Tergo Sequentibus.

Acta gesta; hec erant omnia et Sing'la in p'ntia Reuerendorū in Xpo. patrum, Edmundi Grindall, London. e'pi electi, Richardi Cockes Elien. electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorn. electi, Anthonii Huse Armigeri principalis et primarii Reg'rarii d'ci Archie'pi, Thome Argall armigeri Reg'rarii Curie Prerogative Cantur., Thome Willett et Joh'is Incent notariorum publicorū, et aliorum nonnullorum.

No. 2.

REGALIS ASSENSUS PRO ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTUARIENSI.

A.D. 1559. Pat. 1, Eliz. p. 2, m. 1.

Elizabetha, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, etc.
Reverendis in Christo Patribus,
Cuthberto, Episcopo Dunelmensi,
Gilberto, Bathoniensi Episcopo,
David, Episcopo Burgi Sancti Petri,
Antonio, Llandavensi Episcopo,
Willielmo Barlo Episcopo, et
Johanni Scory Episcopo, Salutem.

Cum, vacante nuper sede Archiepiscopali Cantuariensi, per mortem naturalem Domini Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis ultimi et immediati Archiepiscopi et Pastoris ejusdem, ad humilem petitionem Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis et Metropoliticæ Christi Cantuar. eisdem per Litteras nostras patentes, licentiam Concessimus alium sibi eligendi in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem sedis prædictæ, ac iidem Decanus et capitulum, vigore et obtentu licentiæ nostræ prædictæ, dilectum nobis in Christo Magistrum Mattheum Parker, Sacræ Theologiæ Professore, sibi et Ecclesiæ prædictæ elegerint in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem prout per literas suas patentes, sigillo eorum communi sigillatas, nobis inde directas, plenius liquet et apparet,

Nos, electionem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni regium nostrum assensum adhibuimus et favorem; et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus,

Rogantes, ac in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini

firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus eundem Magistrum Mattheum Parker in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et Metropoliticæ Christi Cantuaren. prædictæ sic, ut profertur, electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, et eundem Magistrum, Mattheum in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere quæ vestro in hâc parte incumbunt officio pastoralis, juxta formam Statutorum in ea parte editorum et provisorum, velitis cum effectu.

In cujus rei testimonium, etc.

Teste Regina apud Redgrave nono die Septembris.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.

No. 3.

REGIUS ASSENSUS PRO ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTUARIENSI.

Regina, etc.

Reverendis in Christo Patribus,

Antonio Llandavensi Episcopo

Willielmo Barlow, quondam Bathon, Episcopo,
nunc Cicesterensi Electo

Johanni Scorye, quondam Cicesterensi Episcopo,
nunc Herefordensi.* (Electo.)

Miloni Coverdall quondam Exoniensi Episcopo

Ricardo Bedfordensi } Episcopis Suffraganeis,
Johanni Thetfordensi }

Johanni Bale, Ossemerensi Episcopo,

Salutem.

Cum vacante nuper sede Archiepiscopali Cantuariensi,

* In Rymer "electo" is omitted by mistake; it is in the Roll.

per mortem naturalem Domini Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis ultimi et immediati Archiepiscopi et Pastoris ejusdem, ad humilem petitionem Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis et Metropoliticæ Christi Cantuar. eisdem per Litteras nostras Patentes licentiam concessimus alium sibi eligendi in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem sedis prædictæ, ac iidem Decanus et Capitulum, vigore et obtentu licentiæ nostræ prædictæ, dilectum nobis in Christo Magistrum Mattheum Parker Sacræ Theologiæ Professore, sibi et Ecclesiæ prædictæ elegerint in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem, prout per suas Litteras Patentes, sigillo eorum communi siggillatas, nobis inde directas plenius liquet et apparet,

Nos, electionem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni Regium nostrum Assensum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, et hoc vobis tenore præsentium significamus ;

Rogantes, ac in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus vos, aut ad minus quatuor vestrum, eundem Mattheum Parker in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et Metropoliticæ Christi Cantuar. prædictæ, sic ut præfertur electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, et eundem Magistrum Mattheum Parker in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere, quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastoralis, juxta formam Statutorum in ea parte editorum et provisorum velitis cum effectu :

Supplentes nihilominus, supremâ nostrâ Auctoritate Regiâ, ex mero motu ac certâ scientiâ nostris, si quid aut in hiis quæ juxta Mandatum nostrum prædictum, per vos fient, aut in vobis aut vestrum aliquo, conditione, statu, facultate vestris, ad præmissa perficienda, desit aut

deerit eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requiruntur aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante. In cujus rei, etc. Teste Reginâ apud Westmonasterium VI die Decembria.

(No authentication.)

No. 4.

DE COMMISSIONE AD SACRAMENTUM AB ECCLESIASTICIS
RECIPIENDUM.

A.D. 1559, Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 2, m. 3 dor.

Regina ;

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri

Mattheo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo ;

Ac,

Reverendis in Christo Patribus

Edmundo Londoniensi Episcopo ;

Ac Ricardo Eliensi Episcopo ;

Ac etiam dilectis et fidelibus Consiliaris suis,

Francisco Knolles, Militi ; Vice Camerario suo,

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deerit eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hâc parte requiruntur aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante. In cujus rei, etc. Teste Reginâ apud Westmonasterium VI die Decembris.

(No authentication.)

No. 4.

DE COMMISSIONE AD SACRAMENTUM AB ECCLESIASTICIS
RECIPIENDUM.

A.D. 1559, Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 2, m. 3 dor.

Regina ;

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri

Mattheo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo ;

Ac,

Reverendis in Christo Patribus

Edmundo Londoniensi Episcopo ;

Ac Ricardo Eliensi Episcopo ;

Ac etiam dilectis et fidelibus Consiliaris suis,

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Nos igitur,

In animo habentes eorum Reformationem, nè Divinus ac verus Dei cultus per tales perversos homines in aliquo impediatur vel molestetur, ac in approbatâ pietate, sapientiâ, prudentiâ et circumspectione vestris plurimum confidentes.

Assignavimus vos Commissionarios nostros, ac per præsentés damus vobis decem et octo, decem et septem, sexdecim, quindecim, quatuordecim, tredecim, duodecim, undecim, decim, novem, octo, septem, sex, quinque, et quatuor vestrûm (quorum vos præfatos Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, Episcopum London. et Episcopum Elien. unum esse volumus) planam potestatem et auctoritatem

cum omnibus et singulis suis commodis, emolumentis, procurationibus, Pentecostaliis, pensionibus, proxmetis, synodalibus, feodisque debitis, tam pro inductionibus beneficiorum, quam pro Approbatione et insinuatione testamentorum infra prædictum Archidiaconatum, *nunc certo et legitimo modo vacantem*, et ad nostram præsentationem, ratione vacationis sedis Episcopalis Lincoln. pleno jure spectantem, per triennium à tempore acceptationis prædicti Episcopatus Lincoln. continuò numerandum, in Commendam unà cum dicto Episcopatu retinere, ejusque fructus, redditus et proventus, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentiis prius recitatis, sive quibuscunque aliis percipere, atque in suos usus et utilitatem, ac si dictum Archidiaconatum in titulum obtinere, convertere atque applicare durante triennio prædicto liberè et licitè valeat et possit, absque impedimento nostro hæredum sive successorum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcunque,

Habendum, gaudendum, et percipiendum dictum Archidiaconatum Lincoln. cum omnibus et singulis suis commodis, emolumentis, procurationibus, Pentecostaliis, pensionibus, proxmetis synodalibus, feodisque debitis, tam pro inductionibus beneficiorum quàm pro approbatione et insinuatione testamentorum infra prædictum Archidiaconatum, quorum omnium et singulorum verus valor non ultra clxi l. xix s. 1d. (deductis inde decimis in libro nostro taxationum primitiarum et decimarum annualium dicti Episcopatus) non existit, præfato Episcopo Electo, tam absenti, quam præsentì, per Triennium prædictum, absque alio gravamine, interruptione, calumniâ seu denegatione Patronorum dicti Archidiaconatus et successorum suorum, aut illorum alicujus, vel aliorum quorumcunque,

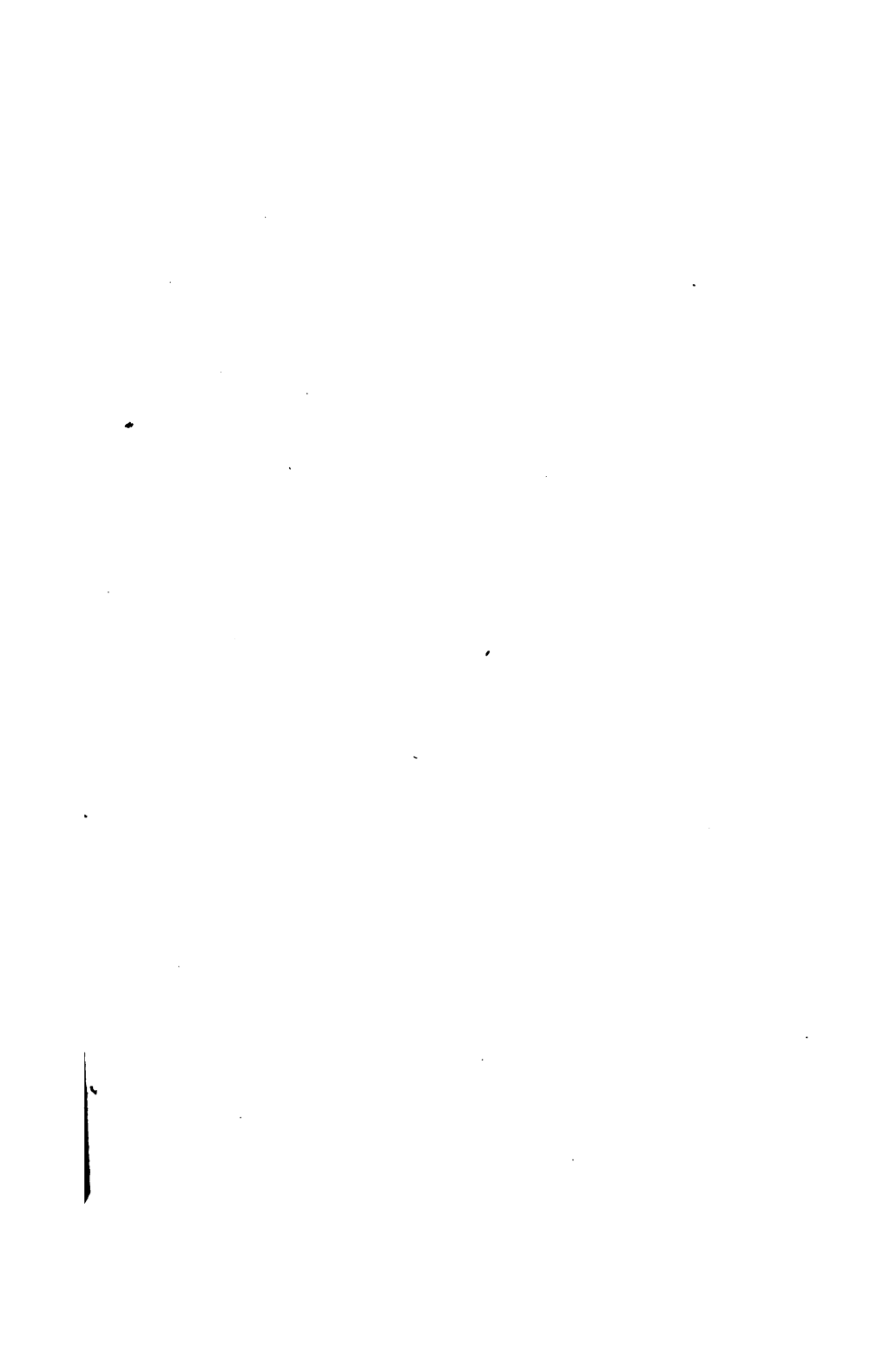
Volentes et firmiter injungentes Patronis et Patrono dicti Archidiaconatûs quod iidem permittant, et illorum quilibet permittat, præfatum Episcopum Electum, sive fuerit absens sive præsens, ad gaudendum, percipiendum tenendum et habendum, durante termino trium annorum prædictorum, omnes et singulos fructus, redditus, proventus, et cætera emolumenta et commoda quæcunque prius recitata dicti Archidiaconatûs, unâ cum Episcopatu hujusmodi Lincoln. usque ad tres annos à tempore acceptationis prædicti Episcopatûs Lincoln. continuò numerandos, in commendam retinere liberè et licite valeat et possit; juribus sive Constitutionibus Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, seu statutis etiam localibus, actu, ordinatione, ritu, consuetudine, seu restrictione in eâdem Ecclesiâ Cathedrali prius habitis seu usitatis, in contrarium in aliquo non obstantibus: Proviso semper quod dictus Archidiaconatus interim debitis non fraudetur obsequiis.

Eo quod expressa mentio, etc.

In cujus rei, etc.

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